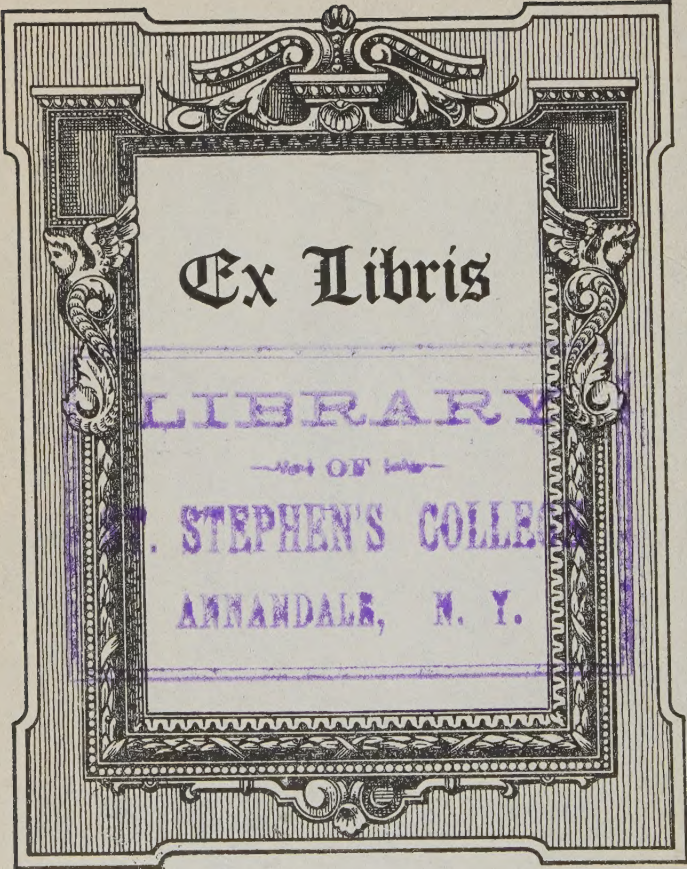


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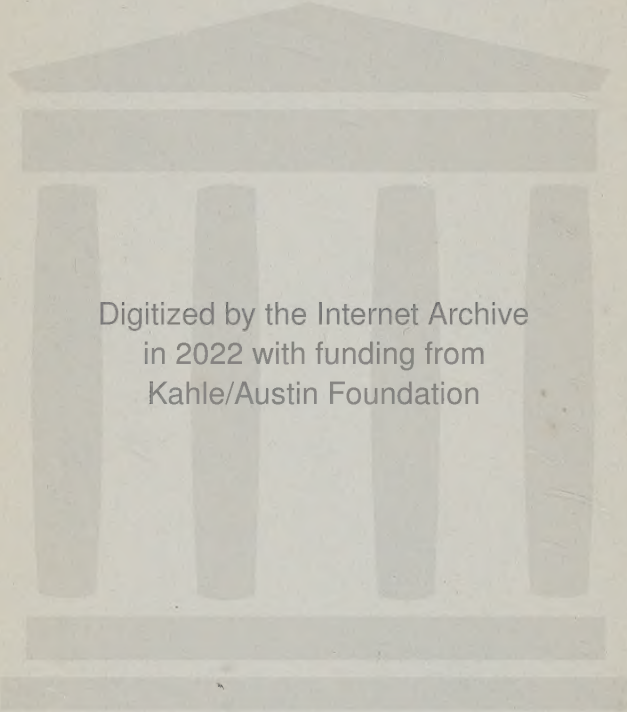
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THE NEW SOCIAL RESEARCH



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THE NEW SOCIAL RESEARCH

BY

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Editor, Journal of Applied Sociology*

PREFACE BY

ROBERT E. PARK

University of Chicago

1926

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PREFACE

IT WILL BE of some interest to the readers of this volume, I am convinced, to know how it came into existence, and what, in general, it is all about.

It is first of all an account of the methods of investigation which were worked out in the course of the Race Relations Survey on the Pacific Coast. This survey is still in progress. It has been completed in its main outlines; but in detail, and in respect to a number of specific problems, much remains to be done.

In the course of the Survey's investigations, numerous local and special problems, requiring more detailed study, have presented themselves. These special problems have been taken over by men specially interested and specially qualified to carry them to completion. It is expected that they will issue, finally, a series of monographs dealing separately with specific problems; all of them, however, centering about and focusing upon, the relations of Oriental and Occidental peoples as reflected in the economic, social, and religious life of the Pacific Coast.

The methods of investigation here described are those that have been actually used in studies already completed, or at any rate well under way. It is to be expected that further studies will further

test the methods of investigation already employed, and discover new devices that will supplement and correct them. This volume, must, therefore, be regarded, on the whole, as a first sketch rather than a final statement. Its peculiar interest to students of sociology, will be, I think, that it is an account of a social survey in action; an account of the actual process of investigation, in a relatively new field of observation and study.

THE NEW SOCIAL RESEARCH is, however, not merely an account of survey methods; it is at the same time a sketch of the Survey itself; it foreshadows, in a way, its findings.

Two conditions under which the work of the Survey of Race Relations is carried on, have necessarily determined the point of view and the character of the methods employed:

(1) Investigations extended over a geographical area from Victoria and Vancouver, in British Columbia in the North, to the Imperial Valley and Mexico in the South.

(2) Race Relations, as it turned out, involve all the relations in life: economical, political, cultural, and religious.

In order to gather facts over so wide an area, and with reference to so many different aspects of human life, it has been necessary to secure the cooperation of representative men and women in all the different regions in which the Pacific Coast is divided not merely by geography, but by tradition.

Regional organizations were established at Vancouver, British Columbia; Seattle, Washington; Portland, Oregon; San Francisco and Los Angeles, California.

Fortunately there were, in every one of these centers, universities and colleges, men already interested in studying some phase of the problem of race relations, either in its local or in its more general scientific aspects. It was the task of the director of the survey to discover these men and their special interests, and to indicate to them how they could contribute, by an extension of the studies that they were already making or were prepared to make, to the solution of the task of the Survey. It was necessary, further, without interfering in any way with the independence of these different investigators, to coordinate their tasks so that their investigations would all contribute to a common body of knowledge in regard to the varied aspects of a common problem.

In order to accomplish this purpose, an effort was made to bring together, in local conferences, men in different colleges and different sciences, in each region, who were looking at the general problem from their special points of view. These local conferences turned out to be particularly interesting and helpful to all concerned. They served to indicate to each specialist the place of his own studies in the general program. Special studies gained a new interest and a new significance when they were seen in relation

to one another, and to the local and practical issues which were disturbing the public.

These conferences also served as a sort of clearing house for the different and special points of view represented by the different special studies. In Los Angeles, under the direction of Professor Bogardus, there was organized, in connection with the local conference, a so-called methodological clinic. In these clinics, reports of investigators were read and discussed; students and investigators were given an opportunity at these meetings to hear reports from representatives of the Survey from other regions; particular attention was given to practical difficulties which investigators in the field had encountered in the actual process of investigation. Reports of these clinics were prepared and circulated to all the regional centers up and down the Coast. Following are the minutes of one of these clinics:

The seventh meeting of the Social Research Clinic was held on October 15th, in the Social Research Laboratory of the University of Southern California.

Eighteen persons were present, including the usual personnel, and Miss B. of San Diego who is undertaking a study of the Japanese there, Miss R. from Chicago, and Miss K. who is working among the Negroes in Los Angeles.

The meeting was in charge of Miss R. who presented data concerning life histories, social map making, and the analysis of myths in relation to public opinion.

She also gave a comparison of the social situation in Livingston with that in Florin. In the former the people have been successful in making numerous accommodations. In the latter the spirit of conflict prevails. In the former there is a variety of contacts between Americans and Japanese.

In the latter there are no contacts except limited economic ones.

The speaker gave descriptive data concerning the Chinatowns of San Francisco and Vancouver and referred to several types of Chinese which she had become acquainted with, ranging from "bums" and hard workers to the trouble chasers, the sheiks, and the flappers. Comparisons were also made between different types of social community organization found among the Chinese and Japanese.

Dr. C. inquired concerning the ancient Chinese culture, for example, that represented by village-mindedness. He asked if it exists in Chinatowns on the Coast. Miss R. replied that there were many evidences of this culture and gave illustrations.

Miss L. asked how one can tell whether a life history is authentic or not, and the speaker replied by mentioning several clues whereby it is possible to classify interviews as genuine or inaccurate.

Another question brought out the attitude of the Orientals, particularly the Japanese, toward the American romantic conceptions, such as love-making, as being essentially "kindergarten stuff." Even Tennyson would be classified in some of his poems as promulgating the kindergarten attitude toward love.

The fact that children often constitute a motif among Japanese parents and the related fact that the Japanese are afraid of the city and seek the country as a means of protection for their children was brought out.

Mr. R. raised questions concerning intermarriage between Orientals and whites which led to the statement that it is generally American women who marry Japanese in this country, whereas in Japan it is American men who marry Japanese women. Miss R. advanced the theory that with greater acquaintance between races on the Coast intermarriage would not increase, but might even decrease.

It is expected that at the next meeting Professor M. will present some of his materials growing out of his agricultural studies. Mr. D. will also report on problems relating to funding inter-racial good will.

It is in these methodological clinics that the present volume had its origin. The various methodological documents which it introduces were written in order to answer, as briefly as possible, the practical questions which the investigation itself called forth.

The first problem of the Race Relations Survey, as of every other study of a practical problem, is one of analysis. In order to investigate a complicated problem, it is necessary to reduce it to its smaller unit.

The last problem of a survey is one of synthesis. The question in the present instance, was how to bring this wide range of studies, covering so large a territory and so many aspects of life, within the limits of a single point of view.

The fact that has given unity, and will continue to give unity, to all the studies that the Race Relations Survey has initiated, is their relation to a practical issue. The different phases of the problem investigated all bear directly or indirectly on issues that were before the public, and in one form or another will continue to be before the public for a long time to come. All the special investigations in progress, whether in the field of biology, economics, or sociology, are intended as answers to questions that have been raised in the press and in public discussion on the Pacific Coast. It is for this reason that; in the long run, all investigations of race relations tend to come to focus on the subject of public opin-

ion. What the Survey has finally sought to discover has been what public opinion with reference to race relations on the Coast actually is; how it differs in different regions, and among different classes; and what are the sources of that public opinion in these different races and classes. It is for that reason that the central problem of this book is public opinion.

One thing that lends interest to a volume such as this, and at this time to any volume on sociological method, is the fact that our social studies, so to speak, are just now in transit. Research in the field of sociology, at any rate, is relatively a new thing.

There has been a great deal of pessimism in regard to the social sciences, because, it is urged, in social matters it was impossible to experiment. As a matter of fact, speaking broadly, the amount of experimentation in the field of social life probably greatly exceeds that in any other field of human activity. Every social reform is, in a certain sense, a social experiment. Most of the vast flood of legislation which issues from our legislative halls every year, sets in motion some sort of social experiment. Prohibition has been an experiment on a vast scale.

The social investigators in the past have been very largely social politicians, interested in formulating programs and in initiating policies. They are now, however, ambitious to go further, and conduct experiments. They are beginning to check up on the social experiments already in process. Experiment, however, in the scientific sense, seeks to formulate

and test hypotheses; and social research, in the strict scientific sense, is confined to investigation based upon hypotheses.

In the present volume the term research has been used in a somewhat wider sense, to include exploration as well as experiment. In the most limited sense of the word, I should say that a survey is never research,—It is exploration; it seeks to define problems rather than to test hypotheses.

The only sociological experiments, and hence, strictly speaking, the only sociological research, that has thus far been undertaken in connection with the race relations survey, is the studies in "social distance" so-called. These experiments were made by Professor Bogardus and are reported upon in this volume.

Of all the recent attempts that have been made by psychologists to study social attitudes and to reduce to numerical terms the factors that cooperate to make public opinion, these studies strike me as altogether the most promising. They promise most, for one thing, because they recognize that all opinions, public or private, are a social product.

ROBERT E. PARK

THE NEW SOCIAL RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

BY SOCIAL RESEARCH, as used herein, is meant something more than the collecting of facts about people and social situations. It analyzes the meaning of social facts. It tries to understand the attitudes of the people about whom facts are collected and to account for the resultant opinions. It searches out the nature of public opinion in each social situation and of the processes whereby opinion changes. It attempts new methods of social research for discovering the nature of social processes. In short, social research is the study of social processes.

As politics is a substitute for war, so social research may be viewed as a substitute for politics. "Politics does not get at the truth; it is a method of fighting out issues." Social research is a way of making persons mutually understood, and hence of making unnecessary much of what now passes for "politics."

In the following pages will be found an account of the methods of social research used in the Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey beginning in 1923 and culminating in a tentative findings conference in 1925. The director of research was Professor Rob-

ert E. Park of the University of Chicago. The research was supported by five regional committees and regional directors (of which the writer was one), extending from Southern California to British Columbia, and by the Institute of Social and Religious Research of New York City. The methods of research used in the Race Relations Survey have been further tried out in the Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles (1924-1925), which was inaugurated and supported by the Rotary Club of Los Angeles, and conducted by a social research group from the University of Southern California, which included the writer as the director and his colleague, Dr. E. F. Young, as assistant director, and ten graduate students as participators in the research work.

The publication of the findings of the Race Relations Survey is now going forward under the direction of Doctor Park, while the report of the Boys' Work Survey is being prepared by the writer.

The present discussion of social research is, first of all, a presentation of the methods by which the Race Relations materials were secured. Special references are inserted regarding the Boys' Work Survey whenever new methods were introduced or important variations from the Race Relations Survey occurred. The unique trait of the Race Relations Survey is that it has sought from the beginning to accept existing public opinion as a fact, and then to understand it by studying the conditions under which it has arisen. Previous investi-

gations on the Coast have sought primarily to determine the merits of the issues raised by the presence of the Oriental; that is, to arbitrate and adjudicate the disputed questions. This study, on the other hand, has sought primarily to learn — irrespective of their merits — how these issues actually arose, what were their sources in the social situations themselves, in the experiences of individual men and women, in human nature generally, and in the existing state of mind. Since the attempts to study attitudes and opinions in first-hand and concrete ways have been rare, the methods employed in the Race Relations Survey (and also in the Boys' Work Survey) have been in some respects unique; and since the whole matter is interesting in itself, it has seemed desirable to give an account of the methods employed.

It is probable that the methods, for example, of studying race relations as described in this document, have widespread applications. Race relations are as concrete as personal experiences and as universal as mankind. Every person belongs to at least one race; he has had contacts with members of some other races; and possesses attitudes and opinions, friendly, antipathetic, or neutral toward other races. In one way or another race relationships may be viewed as including all other relationships. They have basic biological, cultural, and social foundations; and hence methods for studying them may be used in modified ways in considering the other relationships of life.

Furthermore, race relations, like all human relations, imply a certain amount of separation. This separation in any human relation, or position in society, possesses physical and geographic as well as psychical and social traits. It represents some kind of a barrier, some form of isolation, that may be the main explanatory factor in human misunderstandings, tensions, and conflicts. The poet has penned a phrase: "Children, leprechawns, women, beautiful and young, foreigners all." Race, sex, class, and age can make any two individuals wholly or partly alien to one another. The process of acquaintance, or of overcoming alienship, is in each case somewhat the same. The colonial adventure, for example, the adventure of the English, the adventure of the United States, is centered in the free acquaintance that is possible between different races and classes, and in the development of personal attitudes and public opinion. Methods of comprehending the origins and evolution of racial attitudes and opinion may be expected to throw light on the origins and development of all attitudes and opinion, and hence on the origins and development even of human nature. Likewise, methods of studying adolescent attitudes, as developed in the Boys' Work Survey, may have universal import. At any rate, the methods developed in the Race Relations Survey, and tested out under the different conditions of the Boys' Work Survey, are herewith submitted for experimentation and utilization.

CHAPTER I

EXPLORATION

THE PRINCIPLE of exploration is the alpha and omega of social research. The Race Relations Survey¹ tested all but one of the explorations noted in this chapter. The exception is the "clipping bureau," which was the new exploration element introduced into the Boys' Work Survey.² Thus, nearly all the exploration elements discussed in this chapter have been tried out not only in the Race Relations Survey but also under the different conditions obtaining in the Boys' Work Survey. Social research assumes, it may be added, that correlative research such as biological and eugenic exploration has been done.

I. The Literature Phase

The *literature* phase of exploration may be noted first. The aim is to find out what has already been done and thought, and set down in writing and print. The data are analyzed with a view to locating tendencies that others have observed. These tendencies fall into categories which indicate some of the main lines to be explored further. They also point to the chief areas of unexplored territory.

¹ Of the Pacific Coast.

² Of Los Angeles.

The literature materials are to be treated critically. If they contain facts, what is the meaning of these? If they are descriptive, what coexistences and sequences do they show? Each of the findings in the literature data is to be viewed as a question, denoting needed investigation.

Not only did the literature in the Boys' Work Survey include some 2,000 titles, classified, but it has been annotated on "three by five" slips of paper, so that anyone having access to the social research laboratory may find out within a short time, what is available in print, on any phase of the boy and his problems in society, but more important, he may find each article or book evaluated, and also, a bibliography of bibliographies on the subject.

II. The Clipping Bureau Phase

At the outset of the Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles, all the leading newspapers in the city were clipped for one week as far as items relating to boys in any way were concerned. The morning paper that contained the most news items concerning boys was selected to be clipped regularly. Likewise, an evening newspaper was chosen.

The clippings soon began to fall into types, such as those dealing with accidents, with offences against property, offences against public policy and ordinances, athletics, educational honors, employment. The locations of accidents made possible an

accident-to-boys map. Offences against property gave the materials for both a map and a chart.

In nearly every case, however, the data given in a clipping were incomplete and not of direct research value. Indirectly, the clippings were of immense exploration significance. Each would usually give the name of a person or persons who were connected with boys in some important way, and who might constitute an important source of data. The clipping bureau daily furnished new clues or "leads" for personal interviews and for the securing of new and first-hand research materials.

Moreover, the clipping bureau may be developed in connection with college classes, for example, classes in juvenile delinquency, and in race psychology. From each class advanced students may take turns in clipping for a time each of the newspapers daily, seeking out all references relating to the course. These may be assigned to different members of the respective classes and research study made of them. In this way the world of daily relationships may be brought scientifically into the class-room, and studied.

The clippings show what a boy does that is "news." They afford a fine chance to study news values.

1. We very seldom find in the newspaper the name of a normal boy. He must either be bad or distinctly superior. The view the newspaper gives is either of the subnormal boy or of one who has had bad home conditions, who has stepped

into the world of trouble, or else the supernormal boy who has made records in school, or in contests. It is very noticeable that it is not until the boy leaves the high school that he receives individual attention. Before that time, he and his fellow classmates are almost always spoken of collectively.³

A boy who won \$375 in prizes for scholarship and for essay writing received 23 lines of space, and another boy involved in a murder case was given from one-half column to three columns almost daily for eighteen days.

Somewhat related to the clipping bureau procedure is photographic exploration. A good picture reveals factors that often escape the naked eye, and indicates points for exploration. Then, of course, photographs are valuable for making facts and findings visual and interesting to the public.

III. The "Definition" Phase

The Race Relations Survey had not proceeded long before it was evident that different research workers were using even the most common terms, such as "race," "community," "competition," in different ways, and hence misunderstanding one another. Moreover, the layman used the same terms in his own and still different ways. Thus, a careful, accurate, and fundamental usage of terms was sought for. A "race" was thought of first in terms

³ From Boys' Work Survey.

of a language group, that is, a group using a particular type of spoken symbols for communication, but also, and more important, a group whose members have impulse, wish, habit, and custom differences which distinguish it from other human groups.⁴ In addition there may be certain physical marks such as color of skin, slant of eyes, size of lips, which play a large if not the largest popular rôle in labeling racial groups. Differences in standards are quick to be noted by the public eye, and are used unscientifically but widely in distinguishing the races.

A racial group is to be viewed abstractly, as composed of human individuals, separated from each other, but moving about in inter-relationships; and concretely, as patterns of impulse, wish, habit, and custom with a general social organization or community nature. As individuals, a racial group is characterized by a geographical distribution which has implicitly in it potential competition and possible conflict with other racial groups.⁵ Because of the potential competition involved in geographic segregation, invasion, and congregation, these factors are important subjects for exploration.

"Competition" is used in social research to refer to the broad underlying biological and economic dif-

⁴ Cf. W. I. Thomas, "Race Assimilation in Secondary Groups," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, 19:607.

⁵ Cf. Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 161.

erences that ordinarily lead to open struggle and contest. In one sense it includes the blind "struggle for existence" described by the biologist; and in another, the survival of the fittest industrially and economically. The conjunction of a large population and a small food supply afford elementary conditions of competition. In Japan today, for example, with 55,000,000 or more people and a cultivated area of one-fourth the size of California, there is competition of a basic sort.

Crude competition may be studied in a garden where plants "compete" with one another for space and soil-connections. In a similar way an overcrowded tenement illustrates "competition" for space and shelter.

2. Competition determines the distribution of population, territorially and vocationally. The division of labor and all the vast organized economic interdependence of individuals and groups of individuals characteristic of modern life are a product of competition.⁶

Competition is illustrated in the economic struggle going on in an individualistic society of plenty. By virtue of the very existence of agricultural lands, oil fields, coal deposits, competition takes place, with individuals or groups of individuals trying to outdistance one another in getting possession of coveted natural resources, and thus unwittingly or otherwise creating serious social conflicts.

⁶ Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 509.

Conflict may be distinguished from competition by the awareness that a struggle is occurring. After a few thousand Chinese coolie laborers had been brought to California in 1869 and the years following, the labor unions "awoke" to the fact that American labor was being displaced. Likewise, some decades later when a few thousand Japanese farmers had come to California, the native farming population became conscious of the underlying competition that was operating and raised the cry: "They do more work for less pay than native Americans."

"Conflict" is the crux of social research. In studying races, for example, the subtle and open conflicts between races themselves are the foci of research; in studying boys, conflicts between boys and their parents, teachers, neighborhood people, the police, are pivotal. Thus, primary attention should be directed to personal contacts that reveal the nature of competition and conflicts, to personal contacts leading to good will and accommodations, and particularly, to securing materials that throw light on the processes involved in creating and in funding good will.

An "attitude" is a tendency to act — either toward or against some object of experience, which becomes a "value." "Racial attitudes" are the collection of attitudes that are more or less common to the members of a given race. "Opinion" is either a true or false expression of an attitude. Since an opinion involves a second person it is often a

false expression of one's real attitudes. It involves the effect that it will have on the listener, and particularly his resultant estimate of the one voicing it. "Public opinion" arises when personal opinions differ, — otherwise there is no occasion for an active public opinion. Exploration of the personal contacts involved, especially in conflicts, explains the origins of excited and inflammatory public opinion. Since conflict denotes an awareness of competition, opinions are rife, multiplying, changing. Open clashes and riots are rapid-fire generators of opinions of all types, and a study of the personal contacts involved is a study of the origin of public opinion.

In San Francisco in 1906, when a clash occurred over Japanese children attending schools with American children, whirlpools of public opinion were generated, not only in San Francisco but throughout the country wherever the newspapers with the "flare and scare" headlines were circulated. The anti-Japanese opinion became so strong that President Roosevelt was forced to take a hand in the situation, demanding "fair play." The conflict between anti-Japanese opinion and "fair-play" opinion gave to public opinion its bifurcated nature. When opinion becomes generally accepted it quickly takes the form of settled tradition and customary ways of thinking; it is no longer an active opinion but becomes part of the mores, and hence, something that is not discussable.

In the Race Relations Survey two investigators in training visited a community to find out if a racial conflict was occurring or if any had occurred recently. They returned from the trip, declaring that there was nothing to report, that everything was quiet, that a prominent citizen had said that the Orientals and Americans were working together splendidly, but that some years ago there had been a clash which was settled amicably and thus there was nothing to investigate. They overlooked the fact that this clash which had been settled was interesting. Here was a chance to study an accommodation, an adjustment between races, to get a natural history of the whole affair, how it arose, how it was settled, and the processes involved. The means by which a community had settled its own racial clash later proved to be full of suggestions that might be used in other communities experiencing a similar clash. Hence, here was a fine laboratory for social exploration.

Another error in this preliminary report was the reliance on the statement of a "prominent citizen," that all was quiet. The man's sense of local pride was not discounted; his "prominence" was due largely to the fact that he was a good local "booster" but not much else. Further inquiry brought out the fact that bitter racial conflicts were actually taking place in the given community and that the "prominent citizen" had deliberately warded off the research workers.

Since social exploration normally deals with social problems, the latter may need to be explained. In the words of Dr. Clarence M. Case, a social problem refers to "a social situation which attracts the attention of a considerable number of competent observers within a society, and appeals to them as calling for adjustment or remedy by social, i. e., collective action of some kind or other."⁷

The "definition" phase also involves a moving backward into one's own mind, and the digging out of prejudices that have become rooted there. Freedom from control by preconceived notions of what to prove and how to prove it is a primary essential. The astronomer in looking for new heavenly bodies must guard himself against "personal expectation." He knows that he may "see" an astronomical phenomenon that does not exist simply because he is looking for it, and so he "checks up" upon his work in a variety of ways before announcing a discovery. Doubly careful must the social explorer be in protecting himself against the "personal expectation" fallacy.

The unscientific or wrong method of social research is illustrated in a recent book in which the author says that having failed to convince his friends by argument of a theory of his that children leave school because of low grade mental ability, he proceeded to make an investigation to prove that he was right. A student of non-voting starts with

⁷ "What is a Social Problem?" *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII:268.

the proposition that non-voting is due to the increasing number of referendum and legislative matters being placed on the ballot, and then seeks far and wide for statistics to substantiate this claim. In the Race Relations Survey there were those who promulgated previous notions and even methods that had "worked" in previous racial studies on the basis that therefore they would work in this Survey — but to the hindrance of the Survey.

A guiding principle of exploration was illustrated in the Race Relations Survey by the general director who refused to be guided blindly by rules he had learned in other race studies. He came to the Coast with as few preconceived notions as is humanly possible, and followed up one social contact after another in the main centers until rules of procedure began to emerge out of these experiences. The aim was not to find out first who is right or wrong, but to learn what *is* and how it *came to be*. The passing of ethical judgments was in reality reserved for the public after the Survey should be completed and after the public had all the scientific data upon which to pass judgments.

Moreover, this principle of unbiased exploration must be followed at every step. As each new question arises, unbiased exploration should be brought into play first, and kept to the front clear to the completion of each phase. As a survey comes to a close, the outstanding need, significant as the "findings" may be, is for *more and more exploration*.

IV. The Census Phase

A phase of exploration, developed in the Race Relations Survey, involved making a census of all the persons, whether American or Oriental, on the Pacific Coast, who had had any particular knowledge of racial situations; the nature of their racial contacts and experiences was recorded. A sample form will illustrate the method:

3. Jones, Ralph, M. D., 1215 1st St., Los Angeles: Owner estate, 350 acres, San Diego County. Has employed Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican labor. Knows Chinese best. Remembers the Sand Lot agitation and is familiar with the whole history of the efforts to exclude Orientals from the United States.⁸

A total of some over two hundred names were collected at the various centers of the Race Relations Survey. They came chiefly through the suggestions of the more intelligent and informed Americans of the various localities on the Coast. Many of these when followed up led to references to three or four other persons.

4. You ought to see Mr. —; he can give first-hand information about Japanese workers on his ranch. Mrs. — was a leader in the anti-Japanese campaign there two years ago. Her little girl was in a school where there were some over-grown Oriental boys. The Presbyterian preacher in that town "stood up" for the Japanese, and had his life threatened.⁹

⁸ R. E. Park, "A Race Relations Survey," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII:102.

⁹ Race Relations Survey.

Some of the references, of course, proved of little or no help. Perhaps twenty or thirty of the entire number of persons discovered by this method of exploration were of great assistance, and have become permanently interested in the study of racial attitudes and opinions.

In this way, also, organizations or sometimes individuals were referred to as having collected written or printed information. Important scrap-books, sets of letters, and information of all sorts were secured. Many minor documents were obtained by this method.

V. The Statistical Phase

In social research the population status and changes and other statistical data are diligently sought and examined. The total population, for example, of a racial group, its development in terms of birthrates and immigration rates, the relation of the birth rate to the immigration rate, — the variations year by year in these rates — all this throws light on and raises questions concerning the cultural heritages that are functioning and the nature of the cultural conflicts and accommodations that are taking place.

The distinctions between the age groups, whether children exceed, or old people exceed, or people in their prime vigor exceed, or fall below their normal percentages of the population, are important indications concerning the amount of human energy

available, the degree of conservatism extant, and the amount of social change that may be expected. If one sex greatly outnumbers the other, as in the case of the Chinese and other races on the Coast, normal social conditions cannot exist. Family life will be seriously affected; special sex questions will probably develop; occupational activities will be influenced; the birth rate will be abnormal; and even health conditions will be disturbed.

The birth rate and infant mortality rate are indicative of future population possibilities; they also denote something regarding the general level of intelligence. The marriage and divorce rates not only reflect family stability but also show how far children are reared within or without the normal family circle. The sickness and adult mortality rates are important leads to health conditions and to the group intelligence level.

The division of population into occupations is a natural outgrowth of geographic position and ecological conditions. It is related to cultural tendencies and social problems, and raises important questions regarding occupational biases and psychoses and the relation of these to social attitudes in general, to public opinion, and to social change.

Statistics show something regarding community structure, and make possible the measurement of community efficiency and the comparative efficiency of different communities. By them the speed at which a community is changing, not only in popu-

lation make-up but also in cultural trends, may be measured.

Table-charts, particularly in the Boys' Work Survey, have been used almost exclusively. The chart, usually a form of the bar-chart, affords an accurate, interesting, and comparative picture of the statistical figures, which are also given for the persons who wish the exact data.

Social statistics are factual and require interpretation. They are valuable as "leads" to opinions, attitudes, and fundamental personal experiences. They are question marks concerning the meaning of social processes. All statistics are valuable in leading the investigators to social psychological materials and interpretations. They have proved to be, not ends in themselves, but guide posts to rich veins of personal experiences that require mining and bringing to the light for examination.

VI. The Ecological Phase

What is the relation of human organisms to their environment?¹⁰ Population pressures are fundamental. The world is still in a stage of biological competition, which in the past, has been settled by war, or which may be settled by diplomacy, or most desirable of all, by scientific understanding and mutualism.

¹⁰ Professor R. D. McKenzie has specialized in this field. For a general statement, see his paper, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, Nov., 1924, pp. 287-301.

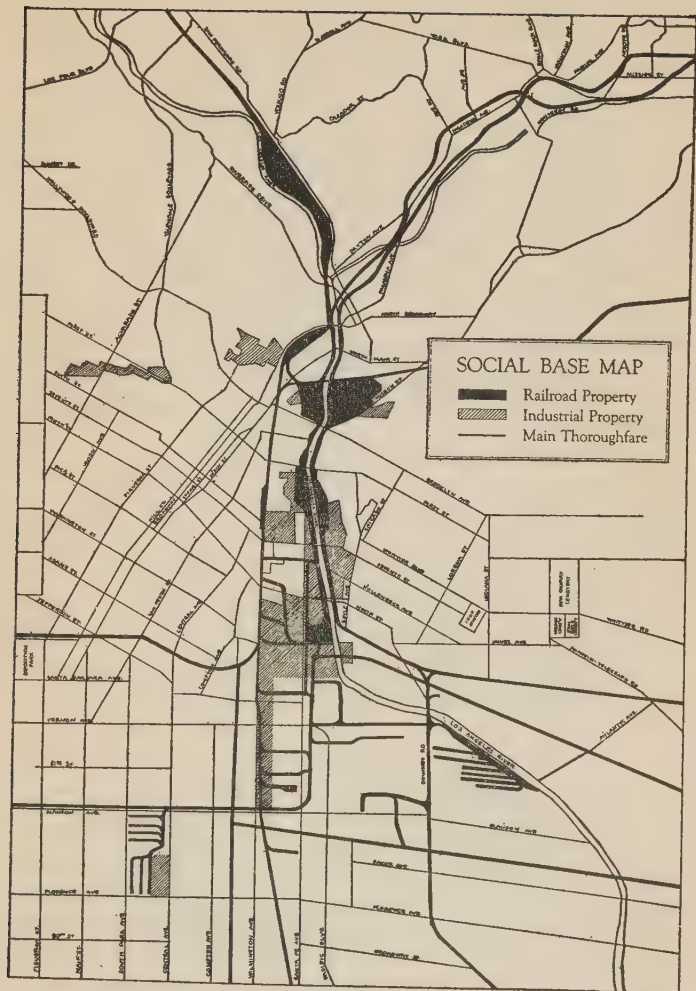
People seem to arrange themselves in geographic relations somewhat like iron filings do under magnetic influence.¹¹ At any rate, in any local community people are found distributed in space and in relationships somewhat after the manner of the "competitive cooperation" of plant communities. A preliminary ecological examination reveals natural areas where compatibles live, with boundaries marked off by hills, rivers, or even by an elevated railroad, as distinguished from administrative or political areas sometimes cutting ruthlessly across natural areas by fantastically gerrymandered districts.

A social base map (See Map I) shows the natural population areas of compatibles and incompatibles, together with the natural physical barriers such as rivers, lakes, hills, and the chief artificial, natural and social barriers, such as canals, railroads, railroad yards, especially elevated roads with their high embankments, industrial, factory, warehouse, and lumber yard districts.

These barriers often operate to divide a local community into smaller neighborhood and retail trade areas.¹² Immigrants tend to seep through these boundaries at their weakest points. If they then contact widely different or illiterate peoples, clashes, riots, bombing, and the organization of protective associations are likely to occur.

¹¹ Erle F. Young, "The Social Base Map," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, January-February, 1925.

¹² It is reported that in Chicago about fifty of these local trade areas have been identified.



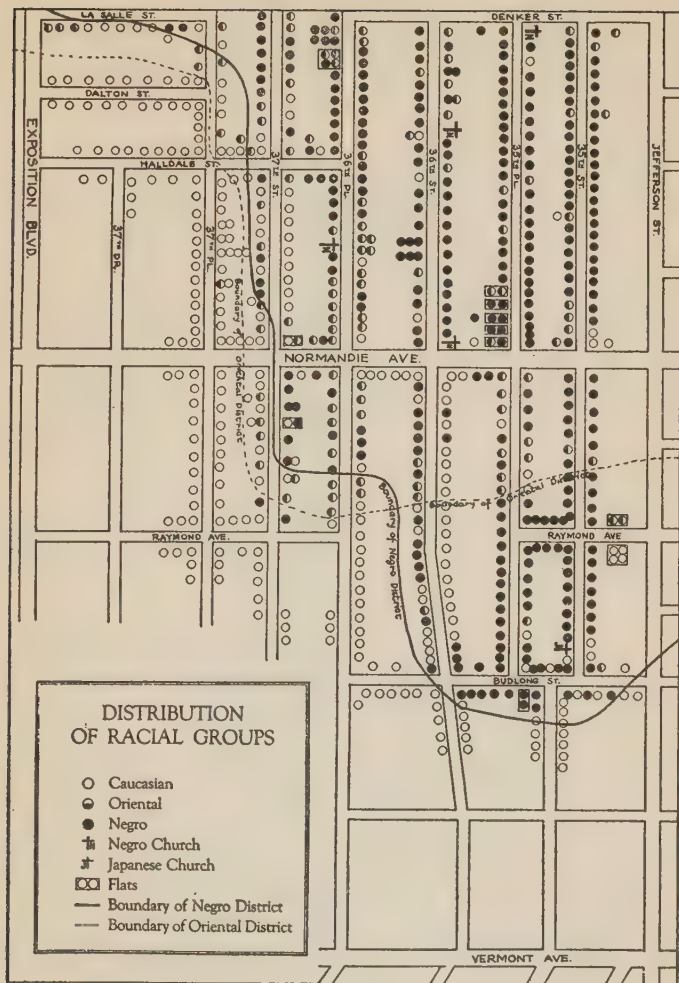
MAP I

Spot maps are useful in showing the clustering of racial families or individuals. By letting a dot represent a family it is soon possible to locate population centers and foci of congestion. Then by drawing a line roughly about the cluster it is possible to indicate the boundaries of the specific racial groups. Map II is of this type. The two-position map (No. III) shows movement and thus is complementary to a one-dimension map indicating tendencies to concentrate. By the three-dimension map it is possible to show both varying land usages and values per lot. On each map, three or four different types of facts may be shown. As soon as the number of different symbols increases beyond five or six they become confusing.

The social base map enables the student of social data (1) "to make direct graphic correlation of the data with the more permanent significant geographic elements of communal structure, and (2) to plot the data so that their relation to the various natural areas of communal organization may be apparent."¹³

5. A social base map which will serve this dual function will, of course, show features now usually shown on maps, such as rivers, lakes, hills, and other topographic aspects, street layouts, bridges, tunnels, and transportation systems. In addition it should show some important relatively permanent aspects of communal organization. For this purpose land usage presents certain advantages. A convenient classification by usage is: (1) railroad property; (2) industrial property; (3) commercial property; (4) public and private

¹³ Erle F. Young, "The Social Base Map," *ibid.*



MAP II

parks and boulevards, cemeteries, golf links, and so on; (5) residential areas; and (6) vacant property. Each type of usage should be distinguished by some convenient symbol which will not interfere with the plotting of data directly over it.¹⁴

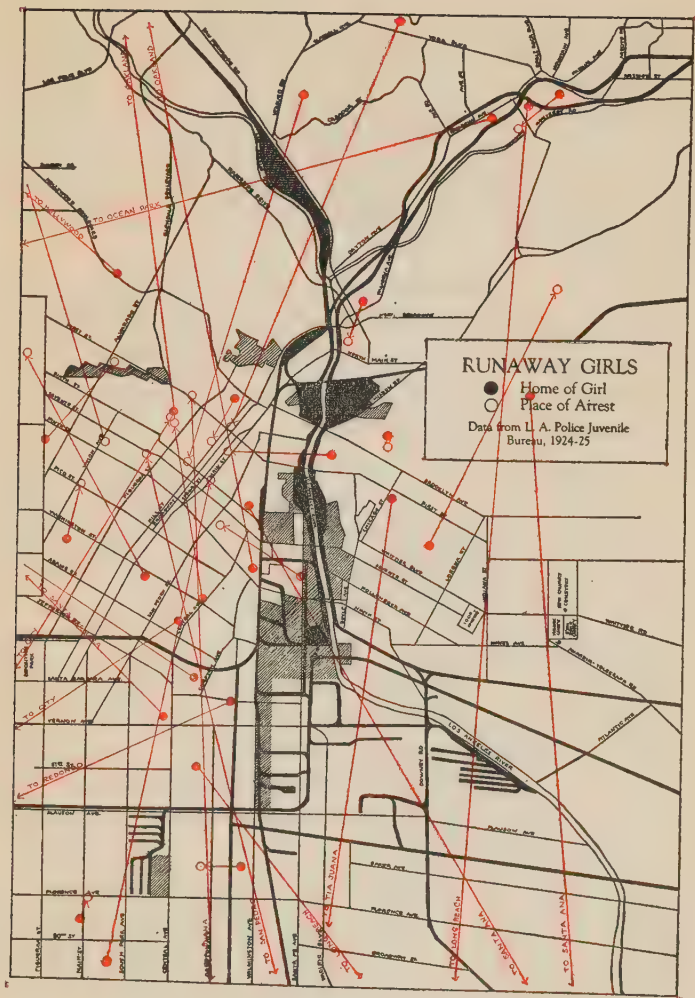
The following use of symbols has been suggested by Dr. Young: railroad property, solid black; industrial property, medium weight diagonal cross-hatched line; commercial frontage, a heavy solid line along the front of the block; parks, boulevards, cemeteries, and so on, stippled; vacant blocks were put in with a broken line; and residential areas, a full line. Blue line prints may be made of this base from the tracing and colored inks used for plotting on these prints.

The social base map technique is at the beginning of its development. New suggestions are continually forthcoming.

6. It may be desirable to use two bases simultaneously in plotting data. That is, the student may wish to plot the data upon a base which shows both land usage and land value or land usage and population density. A map with a double base may be constructed in case the material used for one of the bases is of such a character that it can be measured by some common unit and therefore is capable of linear representation in graphing as in the case of land values. Two methods of construction suggest themselves:

(a) A relief, or three-dimensional map, such as the geologists use can be made. For example, land usage, and land value can both be shown. In this case, land usage is shown as indicated above; land values are shown by varying eleva-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*



MAP III

tions of the surface of the map. This method, though very effective, is obviously tedious and expensive.

(b) The second base can be "projected" upon the surface of the first base by the use of contour lines which pass through all points of equal "elevation," that is, through points having equal value or equal density as the case may be. Weather maps have made us familiar with this device. The practice of the engineer in showing land elevation on topographic maps could be followed with necessary modifications.¹⁵

Map IV is a form of social base map and is specially devised to show frontage and story conditions. It was developed by E. F. Bamford¹⁶ and reproduces a small section of a frontage-story map, covering several blocks, of the Japanese business district of Los Angeles. It needs to be accompanied by a land area map. As a foreign community is not likely to have many sky-scrapers the frontage-story map is feasible and helpful in giving a picture of what business activities are going on.

Still more important, ecologically, are racial and other cultural traditions which divide people into compatibles and incompatibles and which often determine conflicts and accommodations, and hence opinions and attitudes. Contradictory traditions may create misunderstandings, feuds, exclusion laws, and wars.

Geographic positions give a good ecological approach. They locate the most important elements (human individuals) and show the relationships of these to one another in spatial and structural ways.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ University of Southern California.

They give a picture, a bird's eye view, of the most objective and literally visible factors. While this is a static picture, it nevertheless suggests lines of exploration. Race relations, for example, are primarily geographic, for races have grown up in physical environments. Geographic positions indicate possible contacts between individuals and between groups, possible "invasions" of one group by another, possible accommodations. Since geographic segregation emphasizes spatial distances, it gives a literal picture of possible and probable social contacts. Geography is related to what Professor R. D. McKenzie calls "place relations." In a ghetto, place relations afford a minimum of social contacts: but when distributed a race has a maximum of contacts. Its members "seem more numerous than they are."

"Time relations," as Dr. McKenzie has indicated, are also important. If a race "invades" a new area rapidly, the possibilities of arousing antagonism are many. "Speed of invasion may be a measure of resistance to invader." "Job relations" are also significant. The invasion of each industry by various immigrant races may be charted and analyzed. "If an immigrant group can solve both place and job relations, that is, solve the problems amicably of a place to live and a place to work, it will likely get along well. Successful economic competition generally makes possible a favorable place in which to live — a result which in turn gives one status and recognition and thus satisfies basic wishes."

The geographic nature of segregation helps to explain competition and conflict. The geographic "position" of a race makes clear some of the phenomena arising out of its contacts with other races. It denotes the probable competition for food and housing; it reveals transportation, intercommunication, and economic exchange possibilities. Geographic positions are "traffic and travel" signboards to a more intensive study of the human relation problems; they are the "axial and skeletal" delineations of the community. The clustering of homes in an agricultural community in China suggests differences in social life in comparison with the isolated homesteads of rural America, and the clustering of gangs in a complex urban community indicates many special problems of a socially disorganized nature.

The importance of intimacy and formal contact, however, is not to be viewed with too great literalness. Closeness of contact is as likely to end in antipathy, rioting, divorce, or murder, as in cordiality and assimilation. On the other hand, sparseness of contact may be overcome unexpectedly at any time by new inventions in communication.

It is also important to know whether the geographic areas concerned are open or closed economic resources. If the former situation obtains, race and social relations tend to become increasingly competitive, conflicting, and bitter until the weaker races are driven out or become accommodated as virtual

serfs. If the latter tendency is operating, the "invading" races may be welcomed or even "sent for," because they can be paid sufficiently so that they may be kept contented and their labor exploited. If the area is one of closed resources no new "invasions" may be expected, and the whole social group will probably settle down to stagnation and petty feuds.

When the geographic positions of individuals are examined closely, they are usually found in the form of constellations or clusters. In the Race Relations Survey a study of the types of racial constellations was an important exploration enterprise, because of the light thrown upon the operation of deep-seated social forces. In the Boys' Work Survey, an understanding of the problems and conflicts of immigrants was dependent upon a study of the nature of and relations between the racial constellations involved.

(1) There is the racial constellation in which one race occupies the main ground; it has had possession of the geographic territory long enough to claim unquestioned priority. Accordingly, it attributes to itself a superior ability or may even make claims of being the special recipient of Divine favor. It asserts the right of eminent domain with all the privileges ordinarily attached thereto. If this right is questioned in any way, the group feels insulted. Dominance of control is not a debatable question.

Around the established group or interspersed within its geographic area are usually the members of other racial groups. When these possess traditions similar to those of the dominant group, accommodations are numerous, assimilation is taking place, while conflicts are commonly of a rumor nature. The older and larger group gradually absorbs the "invading" group.

When the newcomers are structurally "different," that is, when they possess a different color of skin, attention is continually directed toward them, and each group becomes race conscious. Likewise, when the invaders bring noticeably different traditions, for example, a different standard of living, they become the object of adverse attention and race conflict ensues. Contacts lead to conflicts and clashes.

If the invading group arrives in large numbers, or its members assert themselves at once, resentment against them may develop quickly and fiercely. In turn, they organize more closely, forming a dynamic and antagonistic racial constellation within the larger one.

When the immigrant group successfully competes with the established group and takes away from the latter some of its economic or social status, conflicts break out into clashes, riots, feuds, interracial war. A vibrant and bitter race consciousness is aroused on both sides. Each group becomes isolated from the other, with the struggle ending in the ousting of the newer group or the conquering of the older. The

racial constellation may go to pieces or acquire an entirely new composition.

(2) Sometimes a segregated racial group may draw to itself other segregated races. Thus, a racial cluster of invading races may develop. Many geographic areas contain three, five, or several racial groups each, existing together on a more or less equal footing. Through a common isolation from the major or dominant group, each of the subordinate groups has become partly accommodated to the others. Within this cluster there is also likely to be a number of running feuds and petty quarrels, arising out of narrow and distinct traditions. Races as different as the Japanese and Negroes thus cluster; likewise Mexicans and Italians, and so on.

(3) Another constellation type is that in which one of the invading racial groups has become dominant in an area within that of the older group. The result in a little Tokio, a Chinatown, a little Italy, a Ghetto. This illustrates a form of accommodation in which the invader is permitted certain privileges by the dominant group. In return the invader tacitly refrains from attacking the dominant group's status in some particular. It withdraws from or does not enter into competition with the dominant group. It maintains its own community life and culture with only small modifications here and there. The contacts between it and the dominant group occur chiefly around its edges, where there live people of low status of the dominant group, in-

terspersed with the invading group. Members of other racial groups, clustering about the dominant immigrant group, are also interspersed. Chiefly in these overlapping edges of the racial groups composing the constellation, miscegenation occurs and assimilation on low cultural levels takes place. Here develops a competitive cooperation as in plant communities.

VII. The Historical and Cultural Phase

Ecological and environmental data lead back to antecedents. "Since everything has a history, everything may be understood partly by its history." This history includes both facts and processes. Historical method gathers facts and places events in their sequences and coexistences. An examination of cultural sequences gives a key to processes. Thus, historical and cultural data are essential to a full understanding of ecological situations. The historical and cultural methods are too well known to need elaboration here. Social exploration, it may be concluded, is incomplete without a full historical and cultural perspective.

VIII. The Personal Experience Phase

The personal experience, or psycho-sociological, phase of exploration seeks the *personal experiences*, for instance in the Race Relations Survey, of all

persons, American or Oriental, who had had any dealings with the other race. Personal experiences are either direct or indirect. The former includes what has happened directly to a person himself; the latter, to what has happened to someone else and has been reported. If this report is vivid enough or if it comes from an intimate friend, it may have the force of a direct experience. Indirect experiences also include what has happened to people of past ages or in distant countries and which comes to one in the form of tradition. Early home teaching of a child, insofar as this relates to opinions, beliefs, and ideas that he hears, illustrates another phase of "indirect experiences."

Personal experiences, when collected, are to be viewed as raw materials of social research. They are to be treated critically, — the same as materials in library books. In a similar way the wheat is to be separated from the chaff. The unique personal experiences of the humblest person are valuable source materials. Some of the main points at which significant personal experience data were secured in the Race Relations Survey, by way of illustration, will now be noted.

(1) Master-servant contacts. Since Chinese servants have been common for several decades and Japanese, more recently, many people were found who had had unique experiences which served as a basis of personal opinions and hence of public opinion. Most of these people had generalized upon the

experiences with one servant either for or against the whole race. Moreover, some of the servants were found and their statements secured and verified, which often threw new light upon race relations problems.

(2) Employer-employee contacts. In addition to the highly personal master-servant contacts, the more impersonal employer-employee situations, such as those represented by Japanese and Chinese dock laborers and cannery laborers, and by Japanese gardeners, Mexican workers in the beet fields, Hindus in the cotton fields, are full of vibrant experiences. The personal experiences of American employers with workers belonging to markedly different races have been secured, and compared with the experiences that these same workers have had with American employers. The attempt has been made to look at a given employer-employee situation through the personal experiences of both or all parties concerned.

(3) Merchant-customer contacts. The Japanese as florists and vegetable dealers, the Chinese as vegetable peddlers and laundrymen, the Armenians as rug merchants, have a variety of experiences with American customers; and the customers in turn, often report experiences of an entirely different nature. In business dealings between the people of the Orient and the Occident sharp practices and deception are mutually charged. Misunderstandings are frequent, but most are explained in the bona

fide description of the experiences that each report in telling of a given transaction.

(4) Teacher-pupil contacts. These include contacts of an educational nature, involving chiefly the second generation of immigrants. They take place, not on the plane of competition, as do the preceding types, but of cooperation. They relate to a generation of plastic youth who are not wholly foreign nor yet American, but who are striving to become American and who in their striving are being guided by trained, and in the main, friendly leaders.

(5) Neighbor contacts. In the neighborhood, contacts are usually on a family basis — native children meet the immigrant native children; women, the foreign women; but with the men playing a more impersonal rôle.

The contacts may be between natives and immigrant families of a similar race, between natives and immigrants of a markedly different race, between immigrants of one race and those of another. Traditional and heritage factors often operate very personally, leading to violence and long-standing feuds, or to accommodation and substantial friendships.

(6) Children contacts. In addition to the contact of children of one race with those of another in the same neighborhood there are the contacts of children from different neighborhoods at school, on the playground, and in the class-rooms. Family and racial backgrounds often play a prominent part in these contacts. When the child of an immigrant,

for example, a Japanese, wins on the baseball diamond, all the pupils praise him and cheer for him, but draw the line against him at "social" parties. In the group contacts with him he is sought after, but in the "social" contacts of a personal nature, nearly all shun him.

(7) Parent-child contacts. The contacts of immigrants and their children are full of problems illustrating the conflicts between an older and a younger generation, between two types of culture, between established standards and desires for freedom, between authority and reaction against freedom.

(8) Church contacts. So far as they are personal, church contacts between races often assume a very sympathetic nature; or else a "holier than thou" character. In the latter event they may take on a superior-inferior status, as is represented in the "helping the poor heathen" attitude. Through church contacts interracial good will is funded. Personal experiences of this latter character have usually received too little scientific attention.

(9) Transportation contacts. In street cars, for example, interracial contacts may assume a silent gesture nature, such as a look of scorn, "a freezing glance," an air of arrogance. The effects of these on the persons against whom they are directed, even unconsciously, are brought out vividly, often dramatically, in the personal experience narratives of all such persons. Transportation contacts are im-

portant inasmuch as they constitute about the only contacts that some immigrants make with the "leading citizens" of a community.

(10) Official contacts. The contacts of immigrants with the police, the courts, consuls, and other government officials give the former significant impressions of our political democracy. Officials often develop a formalism, a red tape attitude, an arbitrariness which produce effects on the immigrants little suspected until they read the personal accounts that the immigrants give of these contacts.

7. The foregoing list of personal contacts worked out similarly in principle in the Boys' Work Survey but differently in details. For example, the personal experience exploration pursued the following contacts: (1) boy-parent contacts, (2) boy-other relative contacts, (3) boy-playmate contacts, (4) boy-teacher contacts, (5) boy-church worker contacts, (6) boy-employer contacts, (7) boy-boys' work leader contacts, (8) boy-Big Brother contacts, (9) boy-social worker contacts.

IX. The Comparative Phase

In social research, it is important to compare local findings with findings everywhere else that may be available. The Race Relations Survey having begun in reading and then moved over into field work, now and then returned to a reading phase, in order to see whether what seemed to be significant in the relations of Orientals and whites on the Pacific Coast, was also significant in the relations of Orientals and Occidentals elsewhere, in Africa, Aus-

tralia, and South America. Thus, "the universality and meritability of certain phenomena become more defined in form and in their relation to other phenomena," than they are at first, or in the local phases of exploration. Only as the literature and the personal experience data have come in, actually accumulating in quantities, has it been possible to get acquainted with the entire "landscape" of social attitudes and public opinion, and to see this landscape in relation to similar landscapes in other parts of the world.

In conclusion, it may be said that social exploration involves trained explorers. They may find their field not necessarily in the recesses of Yangtse headwaters, or in the slums of London, but also in our population regions at home — in the recesses of human experiences, in the subtleties of racial attitudes and of public opinion anywhere. Our social explorers range from the ordinary person or student interested in social problems to the highly skilled research worker. Whether one is a novice in social exploration or a professionally trained person, he finds the rules of successful procedure to be much the same.¹⁰

The social explorer requires versatility, for he needs to make studies as widely variant as statistical inquiries, ecological investigations, and personal

¹⁰ Cf. "Procedure Followed in Studying the Industrial Representation Plan of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company," by Mary Van Kleeck, in the *Jour. of Personnel Research*, IV:133-154.

contact or life history researches. Complete *open-mindedness* is another important trait, for the consideration of each new social problem involves new methods of procedure and minds trained to detect new truths. At no time can the social explorer be absolutely sure or dogmatic; neither can he rely with full assurance on his successes, even of yesterday. Science cannot be dogmatic, not even with reference to what it has today disproved, for tomorrow the findings may disprove those of today.

Research skill in seeking the origins of human attitudes and public opinion is another requisite. The successful social explorer is well versed in penetrating the inner courts of human nature, in securing accurate and complete accounts of personal experiences and life histories. He will never cease searching for all hidden founts of human attitudes and opinions.

Exploration is not to be thought of primarily as being simply preliminary to research. It operates throughout research. It is necessary to explore at every stage of the work, in the preliminary inquiries, in interviewing, in securing life histories, in analyzing social distances, in studying public opinion, in analyzing community organization, in measuring group efficiency. Moreover, the concluding of any phase of research leaves indications that further exploration is in order.

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATION

EXPLORATION, to be carried on efficiently, requires a procedure. The organization, however, must be as simple, informal, and flexible as possible. Biases, prejudices, and habits easily destroy its value, and make it blind and dangerous.

I. Securing Research Workers

Exploration extends to methods of finding research workers and getting them trained. In social research a large number of persons may be interested in helping, but only a very small percentage will have had the proper background and training necessary to adjust themselves to the research projects.

From college and university teachers of the social sciences research workers may be recruited, while many graduate students develop well under supervision. In each case the aim is to find some phase of the research project that is related to the individual's background and interests. Teachers usually find it necessary to be released from a part or all of their regular work for a time, and report that the

contacts made and new points of view obtained have added immeasurably to the content of their subsequent teaching. They urge the necessity of alternating work within the university with research work, with some degree of regularity.

Graduate students secure first-class materials for a master's thesis or a doctor's dissertation and a valuable training through research. In pursuing the work for a dissertation they are able to concentrate wholeheartedly and fully for a period of time, and constitute perhaps the most satisfactory type of volunteer workers available. The zest and thrill of discovery is theirs and drives them on with great force.

In the Boys' Work Survey the research workers were asked to begin by writing out their own most interesting experiences — conflicts and accommodations — *as* boys, and then to write out their own interesting experiences *with* boys, even with a brother, playmates, or others. These exercises proved worth while. To do them well requires some training in psycho-social analysis. The results were beneficial in helping the research worker in his actual interviews with boys later on. It also indicates who are ready to do successful interviewing.

Older "mature" persons who "volunteer" do not as a rule make satisfactory research workers. They are likely to have such preconceived notions of "how the thing ought to be done" that their usefulness in scientific research is cut down. They are concerned

with "proving" this or that proposition, or else their interest in practical goals is so great that all they do is colored and narrowed by particular utilitarian aims. They have difficulty in making the scientific approach and in getting back to fundamental ecological bases. Their interest in "facts" and the formal side of data hinders them greatly in getting behind the data and in examining processes. Their lack of understanding of the nature of attitudes and opinions is a serious handicap.

An important procedure is to ask persons interested in research to secure simple data. The way in which they go about this and the results brought in make it easy to classify them as to research efficiency. The more promising may then be given a more advanced task, and so on. The principle of exploration thus proves of superior worth in locating and training research workers.

The ability of the worker to try various methods of procedure is important, because each social relations situation may be different in some ways from other situations, and thus, an organization for research cannot be projected and insisted upon *a priori*. The phases of a social relations situation that are "different" must be approached by careful explorers.

An important question regarding procedure for research workers came up in the Boys' Work Survey: Should the worker be assigned to a problem or to an agency, that is, to study "The Boy and the

Automobile" or "The Juvenile Police Bureau"? If the former, he must visit a dozen or more different agencies for materials. Likewise, a dozen other workers would each be coming to each agency and thus unduly taking their time. If he is assigned to an agency, he must study a dozen different problems there and none completely. The solution arrived at, was to assign each worker to a problem and to an agency both, perhaps, to the agency where he could obtain the most materials for his problem. When he wanted materials from another agency, he sought them through the worker assigned "to cover" that agency. The latter worker would either get the desired materials himself, or secure *entree* for the first worker.

Another question is whether the worker should go directly to the head of the agency and work down — for data; or begin at the bottom of the scale of agency members and work up. If he begins at the top he is likely to find someone who has had unfortunate experience in opening the agency's records or work to examination, and hence, refuses to cooperate completely. The agency may have weak spots in its organization and hence its executive may refuse aid to the given research project. The answer to the question depends as a rule on the degree of rapport and understanding that exists between the research director and the agency's executive. If this rapport be lacking, it is probably better to begin with some individual member of the agency's rank and file and "work up."

In research there are often workers who insist on obtaining results quickly, who want to define the "practical" purposes of the research and what may be expected to come of it, who view everything in the light of social reform, forgetting that the problems are exceedingly complicated, and that the defining of "what may be expected" would at once bias research itself and deliberately direct it to certain ends. Not all have sufficient patience to let research grow naturally. Some are prone to pass judgment on a social situation, to call it good or bad, and then investigate it rather than to find out what it actually is and what is actually going on. It is necessary to go trekking about, inquiring of chance individuals as well as selected persons, seeking significant and interesting experiences which afford clues as to what to do next.

The research worker must be a first-class explorer who understands that exploration is both irregular and systematic, unorganized and standardized; that it plunges into the woods as well as follows the beaten paths; that it penetrates uncharted territory as well as holds to established procedure; that it follows organized procedure whenever certain types of situations or processes repeat themselves; that it explores whenever anything new and different is encountered.

II. Financing Research

Since research cannot be conducted without being financed, the nature of securing the finances as

well as the nature of the financial sources are interesting problems. There are generally persons or organizations to be found who are willing to finance research providing the research will prove or disprove some proposition. There are others who disclaim any ulterior motives and who declare the research will have no strings attached to it. Yet if these be persons of practical affairs or actively conducting a leading type of business, the research workers do not wholly escape the logic of expectation or a sense of proprieties. Prospective givers frequently want to know how the research is going to help their interests; they have the business rather than the purely scientific point of view. They are essentially partisan rather than disinterested.

The best source for financing a social research project is a Foundation established for scientific purposes, or persons of wealth motivated by a scientific attitude. Perhaps a combination of these two sources is best, thus giving the project both an institutional and an individual backing. If the Foundation has headquarters remote from the scene of research, then to secure individual gifts for scientific research from the local constituency will be wholesome. The problem of exploration thus includes securing sufficient funds from scientifically-minded sources within the community in question, as well as from the outside. It is all-important that funds "without strings attached" be secured.

III. Publicity

Widespread publicity previous to a research project, such as a race relations survey, hinders the gathering of materials. Such announcements may be misunderstood, partly because the promotional pattern of making surveys has become common, and partly because the technique of gathering research data is not generally appreciated.

In the traditional social survey, publicity is courted beforehand. All civic and social organizations are apprised that a survey is to be made. The attention of the community's leaders as well as of the citizenry is aroused. The idea is that of getting as many persons as possible to participate, to furnish data, to assist in collecting data, to contribute funds, and to feel that the survey is their own enterprise, and hence to be interested in the findings. The *raison d'être* focuses in "participation," and in the probable rise of a community and social consciousness, even of a democratic consciousness.

In a money-raising campaign for a church, or a college, full publicity regarding the merits of the proposed undertaking are given. The interest of as many people is aroused in the project as possible, — before the campaign is inaugurated. Thus, people are given notice of what is expected of them because their subscription will depend on having their interest developed, and on their weighing properly the importance of the matter.

In political life, wide publicity is given a proposed bond issue, a fight for a bill involving social reform, or the candidacy of a worthy citizen for office. Billboards, hand posters, mass meetings, newspaper space — all these are used to challenge people's attention and to get them concerned.

Hence, publicity precedes many community and civic developments. An *antecedent publicity* has been established so thoroughly in the minds of most civic promoters that any other method is discounted.

A reverse situation, however, exists with reference to social research that involves attitudes and opinions. To the extent that general and spectacular publicity of the ordinary type (which is apt to be superficial when judged scientifically) precedes social research, the latter is hindered. By social research is meant not the scratching of a large social surface, but rather a boring deep into and releasing of as many personal experiences and attitudes as possible. Social research proper is related to personal experiences of all kinds, and to inquiries into personal attitudes and opinions, life histories, "memories," and traditions.¹ An ultimate and undefined aim is probably that of helping one person to understand the actions of another, of one side in a controversy to understand why the other side acts in the way it does; and thus, to relieve social

¹ R. E. Park, "A Race Relations Survey," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VII:202.

tensions so that accommodation may take place and adjustments be made.

In other words, it is held that *personal experiences are the main sources of attitudes and opinions*. To the extent that these are told fully and freely social knowledge is obtainable. In order to get experiences and memories related "fully and freely" it is necessary to approach people naturally, with as little trumpet-blowing as possible, without a challenging call to battle. Social research, that is, a study of the human attitudes underlying any human problem, of attitudes that are often wholly subjective and that can easily be "covered up," is an entirely different matter from a housing survey where the main problems are those of counting windows, measuring air space, and dealing with material objects.

If you announce through publicity measures that you are going to make a study of a social conflict situation in which I have played a part and have had interesting experiences, then I begin promptly to anticipate the coming of your "investigators." Will I begin to work over and to "work up" my experiences and memories, with reference to the truth? No, but to the rôle that I am going to play in the investigation.

If I judge that my experiences will lower my social status in any way, I will consciously or unconsciously put the personally unfavorable facts in the background, bring forward the personally creditable

elements, and be "ready" for the investigation. I will think of my experiences in the light of the effect of their description upon my social status.

If, in the given conflict situation people are divided into "pros" and "antis," and I am one side or the other, then publicity regarding a coming investigation will arouse and augment my partisanship, increasing its one-sidedness. I will think over my experiences not in their own light, but in that of the "investigation." When your investigator comes, I will be prepared as an *advocate* for or an attorney against somebody or something. My testimony will be less reliable than if I had not "prepared" my experiences for the specific investigation.

The effect of the antecedent publicity upon research is given by Dr. W. C. Smith, one of the investigators in the Race Relations Survey, who in directing attention upon the cultural background of Hindu immigrants, reported upon superficialities in Van Tyne's *India in Ferment*. Van Tyne's coming to India was preceded by much publicity. "From the time he received a wireless at sea from the Governor of Bombay the stage was all set for him. At several places he was met by groups with prepared addresses. Behind these masks the author has not penetrated far."²

Another research worker reports that he was studying a conflict between two factions of a given race in a certain community, but that presently it

² *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII:297.

"became noised about that a survey was being made of this conflict," and at once all parties on both sides "closed up," declaring that everything was harmonious. Unnecessary publicity made further study at this time fruitless. The announcement that "nothing is to be proved, that there is to be no propaganda started" does not affect the individual's feeling that somehow or other his social status will be affected and hence does not justify publicity.

Moreover, the *antecedent publicity* is apt to put one in an *excited state*. And the extent to which one becomes excited will hinder him just that much in reproducing his experiences reliably. The undertaking of social research does not lend itself at all to the method of certain religious evangelists who first create as much excitement as possible and then "pass the hat."

Furthermore, the most significant personal experiences and hence the most valuable research data are usually told only to intimate acquaintances. A person does not ordinarily tell all that he knows, at least not the most important subjective data; he closes up "like a clam." He reveals the most significant facts, especially if he be culpable in any way, when he feels *most secure*, when publicity is farthest removed rather than when it is most active, in fact, when he thinks least about publicity. Hence, when a research project is widely advertised the free and full confession spirit that is needful if all the useful knowledge is to be made available, is discouraged and smothered.

A few samples of research data put in the hands of persons of means who realize the value of scientific procedure is a standard method of securing funds. Even small sums of money so obtained without strings attached except those of scientific purpose, of getting the deepest, most subjective facts out in objective, understandable forms, and in ways to relieve social tensions, is worth more than ten-fold larger sums that are secured by rather expensive publicity methods from persons who want something proved this way or that, who are expecting some business gain, or who are anticipating definite pro or con results. As money is obtained let as much of it as possible be put into gathering research materials. Such valuable materials actually in hand are usually more effective in obtaining money for scientific purposes than de luxe editions of an expensive prospectus — of what is going to be done. Achievement makes a deeper appeal than promises. Social research does not require the spending of a large overhead and the development of many committees beforehand.

Moreover, it is important that the organization of research be conducted in a way that will not arouse social tensions which have been previously developed in a given controversial situation. Without spectacular publicity and a general money-raising and organization campaign, tensions remain normal until the research findings can be made and can have a chance to relieve the tensions. Further,

it is important that unnecessary overhead be kept to a minimum and that a maximum percentage of the available money goes into research work.

Publicity, however, holds a positive as well as a negative relation to social research. After the most subjective facts, the really explanatory data which make intelligible the conduct of the respective parties in a conflict situation, have been secured by personal interviews, and have been interpreted scientifically and made interesting reading for the public, then let publicity be full and complete.

The more wholesome publicity of the findings of social research the better. Let the scientific results be put in as interesting forms as possible and made as understandable as an ordinary humorous story told by an after dinner speaker. Most persons will get the "point" at once; social tensions will be relieved and accommodation will start to take place.

At the beginning of a social research undertaking no "findings" have yet been made and hence in a research sense there is nothing regarding which to give publicity. Therefore, *let findings precede publicity* — is the normal research rule. In the physical sciences, research goes on unheralded. Research persons work away year after year in their laboratories and every now and then a discovery is given publicity. Social science research may not be able to do better.

It is entirely easy to get publicity in connection with social research. The newspapers will print

anything that is "news" and what is more "newsy" than personal experiences that are just being brought to the surface regarding a racial conflict or any other social conflict. The newspapers are hungry for any striking anecdotes, any personal stories, even unique "memories" which constitute a leading type of social research materials. In fact, some newspapers are too anxious for such materials; they give so much and such spectacular publicity that they augment social tensions and otherwise hinder the ongoing of genuine social research.

No "publicity" until experience-knowledge has been secured as naturally as possible, and analyzed; then a one-hundred per cent publicity; this is the summary of the whole matter. As little antecedent publicity as possible, but a full measure of subsequent publicity; this is a reasonable standard. Antecedent publicity augments social tensions and prevents genuine research and progress; subsequent publicity releases tensions and make progress possible.

CHAPTER III

THE PERSONAL INTERVIEW

OF THE VARIOUS forms of research, the statistical is best known and is receiving so much attention that reference will be made here only to some of the leading works.¹ Likewise, the historical and ethnological treatment of facts is too well known to require attention here. The ecological or environmental approach involves the statistical, historical, and ethnological, and has been referred to in an earlier chapter; and then, there are psycho-sociological or personal interview techniques. It is the latter which are becoming the crux of social research.

After all the data that are available from records, written sources, and from the purely objective study of current environmental conditions have been brought together relative to a current problem, there still remain undiscovered the main forces, namely, the wishes and attitudes of the persons involved. Until human attitudes are brought to light

¹ F. H. Giddings, *The Scientific Study of Human Society* (Macmillan 1925). T. Kelley, *Statistical Method* (Macmillan, 1923); L. P. Thurston, *Fundamentals of Statistics* (Macmillan, 1925); H. Secrist, *An Introduction to Statistical Methods* (Macmillan, 1917); R. E. Chaddock, *Principles and Methods of Statistics* (Houghton Mifflin, 1925); M. C. Elmer, *Social Statistics*, (Jesse Ray Miller, 1926).

no social problem is understood. These may be secured by the personal interview method. Their meaning may be sought in personal experiences of both the primary or direct and the secondary or indirect types. The former relates to what has actually happened to one; they are face-to-face experiences. The latter refer to what one has heard and what he has learned from reading. The latter are often clothed so colorfully by the imagination that they take on all the realism of primary experiences. Sometimes when they come in the vivid days of childhood, they remain as influential as though they had actually happened to one himself.

Personal experience data, the product of the personal interview are not final; they are simply materials to be scrutinized, criticized, discarded in part perhaps, and interpreted. They are merely the materials for the test-tubes of examination. They are not conclusions, but are the most important sources for interpreting all the other social research data and for the preparation of "findings."

The personal interview is penetrating. It goes to the main sources, namely, human experiences, and attempts to make these sources objective and usable. Personal experience is an index to attitude and opinion.

I. Materials to be Obtained

It is important to know what you are after, to have a sense of the relative values of materials, and

to distinguish basic urges or wishes, attitudes, and opinions. It is also necessary to seek not only facts, but more particularly, the meaning of facts, and to appreciate fully the scientific approach in all research.

1. The easiest materials to obtain by interviewing are ordinary information, facts, data that are on the surface, names, dates, geographic location data, economic reports, social statistics of all kinds. Some of this material will be found already collected and will need to be brought together and collated; other phases will need to be painstakingly gathered by persons who have a thorough statistical training. All this data will be guides to more subjective materials.

2. The study of opinions is important for it is basic to an understanding of public opinion regarding human relations. An opinion is an expression in conventionalized form that "falls into the worlds of language." It is more often a statement of feelings and sentiments conventionalized than an expression of a person's own thinking. It is frequently composed of repeated phrases, catchwords, shibboleths.

3. More fundamental than opinions are attitudes, or tendencies to act. Often a person is unaware of his readiness to act; the "readiness" has developed unrecognized by the person himself. He acts; and at times is surprised by his own attitudes. If he has

not yet acted, he doubtless has attitudes of which he is not aware. Hence, in getting at the attitudes of a person the interviewer has a problem as important as it is difficult.

The interviewer is on the alert to distinguish between opinions and attitudes, for the former are less reliable than the latter. They are less a person's own and more the property of his public. They originate frequently in other persons' experiences, while his attitudes have taken form more definitely through his own experiences. They are less a part of himself than are his attitudes. They are often little more than an attempt to justify an attitude.

When put to the test a person may act in ways different from his opinions. "An opinion may be merely a defense-reaction which through overemphasis usually falsifies consciously or unconsciously a man's real attitude."² An opinion, however, is important because it is the language in which a person "makes plausible and justifies to himself his tendency to act," that is, his attitude. Because of the importance of attitudes, the interviewer seeks their origins, and the processes by which they are formed and by which later they are changed.

Attitudes determine what new ideas may be admitted to one's thinking. They are best discovered in the sequences of acts that constitute experiences and in the specific acts that follow upon experiences.

² R. E. Park, by interview.

4. The importance of personal experiences for social research is many-sided. They are not only the main sources of knowledge, the main backgrounds of personal opinions and hence of public opinion, and the main creator of personal attitudes, but they are the chief media in which one's feelings, wishes, emotions, and sentiments well up; the chief origins of one's "first impressions," which are usually one's most lasting impressions, and the chief makers of one's beliefs and interpretations of life.

Social conflicts are often due either to personal differences in knowing what the facts are or in interpreting the facts. Both the *facts* and the *interpretations* of them originate either in primary or secondary personal experiences. A person often has only partial knowledge of the causes of his own actions and attitudes, because he has rarely analyzed all his experiences. Consequently, his explanations and interpretations may be wholly sincere but worthless as means of determining causes. A simple illustration of this point is found in the statement of a woman to an electrician that a fuse had burned out. When he asked her to describe what had happened, she repeatedly insisted that a fuse had burned out. Finally, he succeeded in getting her away from her interpretation of the matter to an actual description: "There was a flash near the end of the electric cord," indicating that the trouble was in the cord and not in the fuse. The "interpretation" was false, but the description of the actual experience cleared up the difficulty.

After formal and statistical facts have been secured it is still necessary to examine personal experiences in order to understand the meaning of the facts, and why facts are understood differently by different people. We do not act primarily according to the facts, but primarily according to our experiences.

Personal experiences may be viewed as the stuff of both personality and culture. They furnish both the stimuli and the problems of personal and social life. After all other data have been secured, personal experience data are necessary in order to complete the picture of any human relations situation, and as bases for making thorough analyses.

Even philosophy, it would seem, is "more or less biographical, the reflective refinement out of the dross of a man's diurnal experiences."³ All the way from the sources to the ideals and goals of both personality and civilization experiences are keys to a complete understanding.

A lady recently said : "I hate the Japs; they lie and can't be trusted."⁴ When asked why she made this statement, she promptly replied that she had one Japanese work for her and that he had deceived her. When asked what other Japanese she had known personally, she replied, "None." She illustrates a common occurrence, namely, that of build-

³ H. B. Alexander, *Nature and Human Nature* (Open Court Pub. Co., 1923), p. 458.

⁴ Reported by R. E. Park.

ing an attitude toward a whole race on experiences with only one member of that race. This is one phase of the "particularistic fallacy"⁵ to which man is so prone, that is, of generalizing from one or a few particular experiences. This is the chief danger of the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* method of inference. The danger arises in considering each of the particular instances or data which have been isolated as purely isolated phenomena. When once they have been isolated, it is then necessary, paradoxical as it may seem, to consider them in relation to the whole of which they are a part and to all of the scientifically known phases of the situation of which they are representative.

In the aforementioned instance the interviewer did not stop with the woman's impassioned statement of dislike of all Japanese, but sought a description of what had occurred. It seems that without notifying the woman the Japanese caretaker had suddenly left, even packing and removing his trunk while she was away. The woman jumped to the conclusion that lay on the surface, namely, that Japanese are liars. Interviewing the Japanese brought out the fact that he had a wife and children living with Japanese friends fifty miles distant, that in living alone as a caretaker on the woman's ranch he had felt isolated and wanted to join his family, or at least wanted to work where he would be near them. But, is the evidence all in?

⁵ Cf. W. I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1909), p. 24.

If so, the case is against the Japanese, for should he not have acted like a courageous person would have done, namely, have told the woman of his desire to return to his wife? The interviewer went still further, and found that the Japanese had been brought up in the rigid patriarchal tradition; that it is a sign of weakness for a man to be influenced by his wife; and hence, true to his early training, the Japanese caretaker could not admit the real reason for leaving the employment of the American woman, and not being willing to lie, had left without explanation. As a result he was accused of lying, the very sin that he thought he was avoiding. His whole act was caused by a sense of family loyalty. This example shows the importance of penetrating attitudes and opinions clear through to the experiences, not only of the interviewee but also of the one or ones with whom the interviewee has had dealings.

Every experience that interests the social research student always involves at least two parties, the one who gives the interview and the person or persons concerning whom the interviewee has had dealings. In the complete sense of the term, therefore, an interview is never complete until it brings in the experiences of both or the several parties to a given social situation. It includes two or more series of interviews with as many different persons.

In the woman's snap judgment regarding all Japanese we have "an emotional and biased judgment." This may be explained partly by the fact that she

did not know Japanese and was not able "to enter imaginatively" into the nature of the Japanese mind, traditions, and experiences. She had not developed the quality represented by what C. A. Ellwood calls "sympathetic introspection."⁶ This vacuum, as R. E. Park has said, "was easily populated by all sorts of vague terrors which did not enter into her consciousness but still determined the tone of her experiences."⁷

The scientific interviewer distinguishes between usual and unusual experiences. In one sense, all experiences are unusual, and thus it may be better to distinguish between degrees in unusualness of experience.

Usual or common experiences by virtue of the fact that they are common to all are generally understood. Their whole nature may not be known, but people understand one another when they have common experiences. But even the common experience may have an unusual feature, and hence become in small part at least an unusual experience.

Slightly unusual experiences fall into types, but of greatly unusual experiences there are no typical ones. Both typical and non-typical experiences are more or less equally important. The former denote trends, and the latter disclose new developments. The latter are generally most interesting, for they

⁶ "Scientific Methods of Studying Human Society," *Jour. of Social Forces*, March, 1924, p. 330.

⁷ In an interview.

reveal more new human factors than do the less usual. As many of these may be analyzed as can be found, for they picture life in its most changeful phases and in its most original possibilities.

II. Types of Interviewing

Interviewing is as old as the human race. Moreover, it is as extensive as the leading professions of the day. The physician, the lawyer, the priest, the journalist, the detective, the social worker, the psychiatrist and psychoanalyst make regular use of it. Their experiences with the personal interview method may be of value to the student of social research, but space here permits only an introductory reference to the employment of the interview in these fields.

1. The physician's interview with his patient is more or less "confidential." His well-known professional ethics, namely, that he will not betray any "secrets" that the patient may tell him are highly significant. The patient may talk freely to the physician, because he knows that the latter will not gossip about him. Hence, he talks about himself with more freedom than he would to his close friends.

The patient, suffering from severe pain, is forced by the desire for relief to talk about himself with complete detail, with abandon, without regard to his own misdoings, without giving much consideration to personal status. Further, the physical ex-

amination is no respecter of personal status. Its revelations cannot be argued against, and thus, the patient is motivated to tell "the whole story" about himself.

The physician usually begins by asking the patient to describe his pains, their location, when they were felt first, how the patient's appetite is, and so on, gradually getting as complete a picture of the patient's experiences in connection with his difficulty as possible. He rarely takes notes, but by asking "leading" questions keeps the patient talking about himself until important clues are disclosed.

If the patient be too ill to speak concerning himself, then the patient's nurse or caretaker is asked to describe how the patient acts. The physician rarely asks the patient or his caretaker to state an opinion regarding the nature of the disease; he primarily seeks descriptions of experiences and conditions. When there is a trained nurse, the physician looks at the patient's daily record sheet, and asks the nurse for a description of conditions but only infrequently for an opinion.

2. The lawyer also has a professional ethics of secrecy regarding what his clients tell him about themselves. The client is in trouble, is in danger of losing social status or personal property. He may be lured on by greatly aroused emotions of injustice. Moreover, he knows, if he thinks at all broadly, that the lawyer's chances of winning the case are much better if he gives him all the data, even that which is damaging to himself.

Whereas the doctor visits the patient, that is, is sent for, the client visits the lawyer; he comes not physically and mentally, but socially and mentally in trouble. His problem and his need for aid start him out freely upon his story; there is no necessity to seek an adequate entree to the experiences of the client. As in the case of the physician, the lawyer conducts his interview in private, even in greater privacy — behind locked doors. In both cases the interview may easily become confessional and thus assume the highest importance.

Important principles have been developed for securing accurate and complete testimony in court. What actually happened, the relation of what a witness remembers to what happened, and the relation of what he tells to what he remembers are three main problems, and are discussed by John H. Wigmore under the form of three principles, the principles of Perception, of Recollection, and of Narration.

8. Assuming that the witness' Recollection fairly represents and corresponds to his Perception; then if his Narration or Communication fairly represents and corresponds to his Recollection, and is intelligible by the Tribunal, the elements of testimonial value are complete; but not otherwise. .

The simplest form of testimonial statement (from which others may be conceived of as deviations) is (1) an uninterrupted narrative (2) expressed in words (3) uttered orally (4) and intelligible directly by the tribunal.⁸

⁸ John H. Wigmore, *Principles of Judicial Proof* (Little, Brown & Co., 1913), p. 484.

When the witness tells his story in private the facts are likely to be told with some circumlocution but freely, but when he goes into court he is aware that he is to be examined, which arouses defense mechanisms.

9. He is to have it (the story) dragged out of him piecemeal, disjointedly, by a series of questions. . . . In the first place then he is in the worst possible frame of mind to be examined — he is agitated, confused, and bewildered.”⁹

Experience indicates that a witness does best when (1) allowed to use a narrative form, (2) when least interrupted, (3) when encouraged to follow a time order, and (4) when answers are not suggested by questions, but when questions are used simply to release narratives. Persons display a variety of ways in “witnessing,” and hence the examiner must change his methods accordingly. (1) The rambling witness requires a close and catechetical examination. (2) The dull and stupid witness calls for an inexhaustible patience on the part of the advocate. (3) The timid and self-conscious witness needs to have his attention taken off himself or effects that he imagines are going to be produced. (4) The bold and zealous witness is easily led astray by his own exaggerated egoism and is usually a dangerous witness from the standpoint of truth. (5) The hostile witness is of value to truth only in indirect

⁹ Quoted by Wigmore from *Hints on Advocacy*, by Richard Harris, Am. edit., 1892, p. 29.

ways, by studying his negative reactions — otherwise he is to be avoided. (6) The lying witness may be (a) an innocent liar, (b) a careless liar, (c) a wilful liar. The classification suggests in itself the attitude to take toward him. (7) The flippant witness is to be circumvented, to be treated as a “wild animal ready to tear you if she should get near enough.” Her “frenzied exuberance” is to be encouraged, for thereby she will “give herself away.” (8) The dogged witness is to be approached by “getting little answers for little questions,” and to get him loosened up, and accustomed to talking. (9) The hesitating witness is to be allowed to take his time. His weighing and balancing of answers needs to be studied. Sometimes, he may hesitate simply in order to be “scrupulously accurate.” (10) The nervous witness is to be dealt with gently and to be encouraged. (11) The humorous witness may have his good humor appealed to, and may be as he is, a jolly good fellow. (12) The cunning witness is not cunning so much as he thinks he is. He is to be met with cunning and needs to have his real character “shown up.” (13) The canting hypocrite is likely to believe in “religion and his own goodness,” and to approach a downright lie by shirking it and by using phrases that disclose his weaknesses. (14) The positive witness can be led into contradiction of what she or he has already said.¹⁰

¹⁰ Based on discussions by W. C. Robinson in *Forensic Oratory; a Manual for Advocates*, 1893, p. 126, and Richard Harris, op. cit., pp. 65, 107. John H. Wigmore's *Principles of Judicial Proof*, op. cit., pp. 526-537.

3. Through the personal confession of the worshipper, the priest becomes an interviewer. Again, trouble, in this case, "sin," is worrying the confessee. He seeks the father confessor and feels that the freer and fuller he makes his confession the more thoroughly his sins will be forgiven. Hence, he is likely "to blurt it all out," to make his confession sudden and complete. He believes in the priest as a worthy confidant, more trustworthy in "keeping a secret" than closest friends. In order to help the individual to view the confession of sin more freely the priest may even receive the confession through a curtain. Sometimes a ritual is built up whereby individuals as a group may confess their manifold and grievous sins in a general way, but not as particular offenses.

The sinner possesses a stronger urge to tell the whole truth even than the patient or the client; the former must face a physical examination, and the latter, a court trial. The sinner is stirred to tell all, for he cannot escape the Eye which seeth in secret and knoweth the innermost thoughts.

It may not be inappropriate to refer here to the "impersonal confession," providing the term is understood to mean not a complete degree of impersonal relations but rather a short-cut intimacy and a confidential relation largely assumed. It sometimes occurs when a person is way from home and is feeling homesick, or isolated, and craves to have some one to talk to, or "to pour out his troubles to." He has broken relationships with some intimate

friend or relative, and is seeking emotional relief. Perhaps he feels guilty and is seeking an impartial and disinterested court before which to justify himself.

A person "falls in" with some one on a train, or at some lounging place, and before he is aware of what he is doing, he is relating his personal troubles to someone who only a few moments before was a "perfect stranger." This stranger has shown a sympathetic interest, and yet enough anonymity exists so that the talker's defense mechanisms are not aroused. The talker does not expect that the stranger will contact the former's circle of personal friends. Hence, the conversation may take on "impersonal confession" traits. In this way the talker secures "relief of mind" without losing status within his group "at home." In fact, he may even picture himself as a martyr and see a martyr's halo around his head as he proceeds to unravel his experiences to the casual acquaintance or stranger.

10. I remember the case of a "successful" business man who told me the story of his marital differences one night on the rear platform of an observation car. We had met the night before and talked of fishing. He made a very "complete statement," although I could scarcely be termed an "intimate." The next afternoon his wife and I were sitting together in almost the same place. She said: "Jim *never* talked to anyone; she couldn't *imagine* what we found to talk about till one-thirty." I said 'fishing and politics,' and added 'that your husband seemed to be a great fisherman.' She replied that 'he was; he'd go off on long trips two or three times a year; but she wouldn't go, — she hated fish-

ing; he just couldn't seem to *understand her*.' And in a little while she made her confession. I felt somewhat as I imagine a priest feels—but I had learned a good deal of sociology."¹¹

4. The journalist is an interesting type of interviewer. He is handicapped because he is not sent for, as is the doctor or lawyer. He must make his own *entree* into the interviewee's personal life. He often must overtake persons who are shunning him, and secure a "story" from them against their wishes. As the symbol of publicity he is evaded by many different types of people as different as the timid and the guilty.

11. The interview, proper, however, is a difficult thing. It is the most subtle and most fascinating of all kinds of news gathering—and the most difficult.¹²

Both his difficulties and his desire for news are urgent and so he often goes to extreme lengths in forcing an interview, even using threats. Competition with the reporters of other newspapers stimulates him to make new and ingenuous attempts in securing a successful interview. He may even try to make the interviewee angry, and thus to "give away" important secrets unintentionally and impulsively in self-defense. He may assume the rôle

¹¹ Read Bain, "The Impersonal Confession and Social Research," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, May-June, 1925, p. 359.

¹² Harrington and Frankenberg, *Essentials in Journalism* (Ginn, 1912), p. 119.

of a host, thus placing the interviewee under obligations to him. At any rate his time is short and the urge for news is great. In consequence, he capitalizes both time and acquaintance to the limit. "He frames the questions and keeps the whole matter in his own hands." Moreover, he has "a nose for news," and manifests "a quick perception of news values in even chance remarks."¹³

5. The detective is the chief expert in interviewing people who do not want to be interviewed. He resorts to all types of deception in order to attain his ends. In the most unexpected ways he appears on the scene — as a lucky fisherman in the mountains, in the guise of "a prominent citizen" at a banquet, or even a kindly stranger doing a friendly deed. He trails the "subject" for miles, hundreds of miles, and when the latter feels that he is safe from pursuit and all his defense mechanisms are relaxed the detective, disguised, appears as an old farmer, a dancing partner, or a helpless cripple, and innocently obtains the long-sought-for interview.¹⁴

Commissioner G. S. Dougherty in describing what he calls "the humane third degree," states that he does not rely on threats, piling up charges against the subject, or on "rough methods" and thus antagonizing the subject and making him stubborn, but that he tries to create an atmosphere of confi-

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

¹⁴ Cf. G. S. Dougherty, *The Criminal as a Human Being* (Appleton, 1924), Ch. II.

dence on the part of the suspect in him, the detective. He does this by being thoroughly human, by giving the suspect status, and even getting him to experience a sense of pride in confessing.¹⁵

6. Of all interviewers the social worker has much in common with the student of social research. Both are dealing with social problems, with conflict situations, with individuals as persons, with the nature of social stimuli and responses. The social worker has emphasized "the first interview."¹⁶ It is suggested by Miss Richmond that the client's home is the best place to hold the first interview. Here the client feels most at ease and here are opportunities to consider the client in relation to his natural surroundings. This conclusion, however, overlooks the fact that the home surroundings are full of objects that act as inhibiting stimuli and prevent a "free and full confession." Children or elders may be going in and out, or standing outside listening, and thus causing the client to make guarded statements. Likewise, the social worker's office will arouse inhibitions in the client's mind.

12. One of the most important results of a successful first interview is the substitution of a personal relation and sense of loyalty for the client's standard of behavior toward impersonal institutions. In so far as note-taking emphasizes the impersonal side, it is wiser to take no notes in the presence

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Ch. IV.

¹⁶ Cf. Mary E. Richmond, *Social Diagnosis* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1918), Ch. VI.

of the client that would not appear to him at once as the obvious and courteous thing to do. No rule can be laid down, however. The nature of the task and the conditions under which the interview is held must modify our method. The worker who can forget his pencil, visit a family for the first time, conduct a First Interview full of names, addresses, ages, and family details, and then come back to his office and dictate a clear and accurate statement, has at his command a better technique than one who is the slave of a schedule or blank form. When the history becomes more personal in its nature, she (a certain medical-social worker) has the habit of dropping pen or pencil and all that would tend to interfere with spontaneity of intercourse.¹⁷

The social worker is beginning to distinguish between methods of interviewing and interviewing as a process, and to become aware of the need for understanding the nature of the process of interviewing as a necessary qualification for conducting an interview; he is focussing attention on studying the physical setting of the interview, on the kinds of persons the interviewer and the interviewee are, and on what each knows about the other.¹⁸ He is also becoming aware that he has at hand a large store of unwritten information about people and the community, and that if such information as all case workers possess could be pooled, even in a given city, the value to research and practical work would be surprising.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-8.

¹⁹ Corinne A. Sherman, "The Case Worker and Social Research," *The Family*, June, 1925, p. 101.

¹⁸ Bradley Buell, "Interviews, Interviewers, and Interviewing," *The Family*, May, 1925, pp. 86-90.

7. The psychiatrist also has much to offer by way of technique of interviewing. It is his business to examine the hidden springs of action. Moreover, he brings to bear upon his problems a modern psychological training.

Dr. Adolf Meyer speaks of the necessity of "perfect privacy," the choosing of "a quiet, confidential hour," the avoidance of "self-humiliation" by the patient, and of "unnecessary argument."

13. For any examination the *mode of approach* is absolutely decisive of the result. The reserve of the patient is usually a factor to be reckoned with, or, if not the reserve, at least the unwillingness to show a clear picture of decidedly peculiar experiences. It is, therefore, necessary to gain the confidence by treating the patient "as a sensible man or woman," and, whenever the patient does not speak freely, to begin with questions about whether they have all they need for their comfort, to pass to some of the least irritating topics, such as will most likely elicit a pleasant answer and create a congenial starting point.²⁰

The psychiatrist suggests letting a patient talk "on and on." The getting off of the point, the garrulity and so forth, throw light on the psychology of the patient's mind and help the interviewer to evaluate and interpret the testimony. It is not so much what the interviewee says, but *the way* in which he says it which is important.

A successful opening for an interview is suggested by Dr. William Healy from his experiences in meeting parents of delinquent boys:

²⁰ Quoted by Mary E. Richmond, *ibid.*, p. 115.

14. The opening of the interview with some such friendly and reasonable statement as the following has been found in itself to have a rationalizing effect. One may say: 'Well, you people do seem to have a difficult affair on your hands with this boy. Let's sit down and talk it all over and study it out together — how it all began and what's going to happen. I'm at your service. Did you ever think it all out carefully? . . . ' The response is nearly always gratifying.²¹

8. The psychoanalyst specializes in getting at data concealed beneath the threshold of the conscious. He is dealing with the patient's mental ills and trying to find out things about the patient which he does not know about himself. He is an expert in one of the subtle phases of interviewing, whose procedure may at times approximate that of the hypnotist.

Since the patient is often in a very subnormal mental state, it is easy for a psychoanalyst to "dominate" him and make the latter a sort of mental slave, extracting from him almost any type of confession that the sensitive patient feels is expected.

The psychoanalyst specializes in drawing out from the patient his "forgotten" childhood experiences by subtle forms of suggestion. In getting an individual to tell about his emotional strains, dreams involving sex factors, and his inmost thoughts, the specialist first gets the patient's complete confidence, and then by suggesting or even imagining happenings, often succeeds in obtaining a

²¹ *The Individual Delinquent* (Little, Brown & Co., 1914), p. 35.

complete story. By unravelling a patient's experiences and feelings the specialist in this field becomes an expert in making objective what goes on in what to most individuals is the most inner sanctum of their personality. Sometimes the specialist is aided by the terrifying fears which haunt the patient's mental life. At any rate the psychiatrists and psychoanalysts secure from their patients what a doctor or lawyer ordinarily does not get, and what a priest may only approximate, a picture of innermost feelings and thoughts.

CHAPTER IV

THE GROUP INTERVIEW

THE PERSONAL INTERVIEW is expensive in time and money. It is a slow process by which to secure data. Hence, as the individual intelligence tests are being supplemented by group tests, so the individual interview is being supplemented by the group interview. The latter is developing not so much as a complete substitute for the former, but as a substitute for the less personal part. A large amount of valuable work in connection with personal interviews can be accomplished by the group interview, leaving to personal interviews only the most vital phases.

In the group interview it is possible to make preliminary explanations of principles and methods, to answer important questions in the presence of all that might normally be thought of by only a few, and to develop a general interest in research. Group discussion brings out points that otherwise would remain obscure. Group enthusiasm may arouse an interest in research work on the part of many persons who otherwise would never become concerned.

Moreover, preliminary data of importance can be secured by the group interview. By having experi-

ments worked out and mimeographed, a hundred or more persons may willingly work at them together for an hour at a time. The group interest is sufficient to obtain results from persons who normally would consider the project tedious and who would not respond.

In the Race Relations Survey, it was possible to secure from groups formal materials, such as the names of persons who have had race relations experiences, who have first-hand knowledge of race problems, and of persons who would be of especial help in securing data. A considerable amount of exploration work can be done in this way, such as the securing of "leads," and the gathering of "card catalogue" materials.

Actual investigation may be started in the group interview. In studying social distances (discussed in a subsequent chapter) a one-page experiment (Document I) was worked out relative to recording cordial, antipathetic, and neutral reactions. After a brief explanation the members of the groups were asked to classify each race. The list was read slowly, keeping pace with the persons sitting on the front row. As the first feeling reactions were desired and not the second and the more cognitive and rationalized, the experiment worked well. Then, other items of the experiment were carried out (discussed in the chapter on "Social Distance"). Finally, one question was given to be written out thoughtfully and returned in two days. This ques-

tion suggested that each person choose one of the races toward which he felt the greatest aversion and write out all his experiences, direct and hearsay, together with his emotional reactions thereto. This brought splendid results. Most important of all it laid capital foundations for personal interviews, which dealt with points not already treated in the written materials. Certain persons were at once discovered who could write good life histories; others were located who might become good research interviewers.

In another group interview (Document II) in which a similar method was followed, and in still another type of group interview (Document III) a more difficult task was essayed — that of arousing the interest of each individual in writing his racial life history — the results surpassed expectations.

The success of the group interview depends in part on the relation of the leader to the group. If he is one whom all know and have confidence in and who is scientific and considerate in methods of presentation, good results may be expected. If he is relatively unknown and arbitrary, then nothing of value will result. If the chairman is a teacher and the group is a class — in a university, a lodge, a labor union, a church, then he has definite claim on the membership for work. The greater the continuity of the relationship between leader and group the better the group interview results. The less the social distance between the leader and the group the better.

A group of persons in early maturity respond to a group interview more satisfactorily than older persons who have too many "reserve mechanisms." In a group interview with an audience of mature, public spirited leaders, it was found that they were more intent on "passing resolutions" than on digging up data scientifically; they were especially slow in disclosing their own experiences in any worth while way.

It is best to plan the group interview so that it can be completed while all are present. To allow the ordinary group to work out materials at home and "mail them in" produces only partially successful results. Other things intervene. The chief exception to this rule is found in the "continuity" groups, such as "classes" where a written-out statement of experience may be substituted for other work, or a "life-history" for a "term" paper.

In all group interviews the "experimental materials" need to be tried out carefully beforehand on one's self and collaborators. It is a gross waste of time and energy to submit an incompletely worked out project to a large group. Too much emphasis cannot be put on working out projects with exceedingly great care beforehand, and on experimenting on a few interested persons until the technique is highly perfected. It is far more difficult to develop a proper technique than to put it to extensive use.

Document I

SOCIAL DISTANCE

Races Alphabetically Arranged

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Armenian | 21. Japanese |
| 2. Bulgarian | 22. Jew-German |
| 3. Canadian | 23. Jew-Russian |
| 4. Chinese | 24. Korean |
| 5. Croatian (Jugo-Slav) | 25. Mexican |
| 6. Czecho-Slovak | 26. Mulatto |
| 7. Dane | 27. Negro |
| 8. Dutch | 28. Norwegian |
| 9. English | 29. Pole |
| 10. Filipino | 30. Portuguese |
| 11. Finn | 31. Roumanian |
| 12. French | 32. Russian |
| 13. French-Canadian | 33. Scotch |
| 14. German | 34. Scotch-Irish |
| 15. Greek | 35. Spanish |
| 16. Hindu | 36. Syrian |
| 17. Hungarian | 37. Swedish |
| 18. Indian (American) | 38. Turk. |
| 19. Irish | 39. Welsh |
| 20. Italian | |

Races Arranged by Social Distance

I	II	III
<i>Cordial Feeling</i>	<i>Neutral Feeling</i>	<i>Antipathetic Feel'g</i>

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In the first column list the races toward which you feel friendly; in the second column list the races toward which you have any neutral feeling, due perhaps to not knowing the races in question; and in the third column list the races toward which you feel any antipathy.

Then examine the three columns and put a cross in front of the races in the "cordial feeling" column toward which you feel the most cordial. Put a cross in front of the races in the "antipathy column" toward which you feel the most antipathy. Put a cross in front of the races in the "neutral feeling" column which you know least about.

Document II

CHANGES IN OPINION

(*Races Alphabetically Arranged*)

1. What races do you feel farther away from than ten years ago?
2. Describe freely your experiences and actual racial contacts with each of the leading races which feel farther away from you now than formerly.
3. What races do you feel closer to than ten years ago?
4. Describe freely your experiences and actual racial contacts with each of the leading races which you feel closer to than formerly.

Document III

PERSONAL RACE-RELATIONS HISTORY

In place of a library assignment, write out your race-relations history in narrative form. Do not *generalize*, but describe *experiences*. As stimuli to this letter-writing narrative process the following questions are set down. They are not to be answered in order or categorically, but are simply to be turned to as stimuli for further thinking.

In narrating experiences and memories it is well "to let one's self go," describing the feelings and emotions that one had; it is also important to describe the expressions of the "other fellow's" feelings and emotions. Special attention to the gestures of other persons involved, even facial expressions — of pleasure, disgust, fear, anger, — are important. The spirit that one is in when writing a letter to an intimate friend is perhaps most important of all.

I. First Contacts and Backgrounds

1. What incidents or circumstances happened in the play experiences of your childhood that helped to fix your attitudes toward any race?
2. What experiences did either of your parents have with members of any race whom they employed? With whom they had business dealings?
3. What school experiences or impressions do you recall concerning the children of other races?
4. What races was your father descended from? Your mother?

II. Conflicts and Accommodation

1. In what ways were you *shocked* by what you saw or heard then, or since, about the members of other races?
2. What books did you read then, or since, that fixated your attitudes in any way racially? Explain.
3. What public speakers, ministers, lecturers, missionaries, or others influenced you racially then, or since, and how?
4. What experiences have you had in befriending the members of any other race? With what results?
5. What members of any other race have ever taken advantage of you, and how?
6. What motion pictures have you seen which helped to fix your racial attitudes in any way?
7. What newspapers have you read which have played a part in influencing your racial opinions? How?
8. What magazines or scientific journals have influenced you for or against any race? How?
9. How have your opinions been influenced by discussion?
10. Has your sympathy been aroused for any group under discussion by what seemed the unjust and unfair charges made against them? Explain.
11. Has your antipathy been intensified by what seemed to be the biased character of the arguments advanced in their defense? Explain.

III. Narratives

1. Choose the race for which you have the greatest antipathy and describe the experiences under which your antipathy originated.
2. Choose the race (outside your own) toward which you feel the most cordial and describe the experiences under which that cordiality of feeling originated.

Another type of group interview was developed in the Boys' Work Survey: boys' attitudes and opinions concerning motion pictures were obtained. Several public school teachers cooperated. The best results were obtained from an English class in which the teacher (one who enjoyed the confidence of her class) assigned as a normal written exercise in English the general theme of "Leisure Time Activities" and then suggested the following questions as a guide to the discussion. The class period was utilized in this way.

1. What are your most interesting activities outside of school hours?
2. Explain in detail why attending movies comes high or low on your list.
3. Are the movies more or less interesting than they were a year ago?
4. Describe the parts you like to see best.
5. When and under what conditions did you first become interested in the movies?
6. What else besides the picture interests you? Give illustrations.

Valuable hints were secured in this way. The group indicated distinctly that certain boys should be personally interviewed. The method illustrates well a phase of the exploration principle. Some of the answers, to be sure, were stereotyped; some were written particularly for the teacher's benefit; and some children made disparaging remarks in answer to one or more of the questions — all of which were valuable as disclosing the attitudes of the respective boys.

In the Boys' Work Survey the *discussion type of group interview* was tried out. Fourteen group interviews were arranged with as many different types of boys' welfare leaders. Each leader called a meeting of ten to twenty representative persons of experience in his field or under his supervision who were working with boys. Each group interview was held at a time suitable to the particular group — one at 10 a. m., four at 12 o'clock, two at 4 p. m., four at 6 p. m., and three at 7:30 p. m. Each lasted two or three hours. The list is as follows:

- Playground directors
- Y. M. C. A. boys' directors
- Catholic boys' workers
- Jewish boys' workers
- Colored boys' workers
- Special school principals
- School attendance officers
- Probation officers
- Juvenile police officers
- Neighborhood conference

Social research workers
Conference of boys
Scout masters
Social workers

Each group was addressed briefly by the director of the Survey on the nature of the problem, on how the community is becoming interested in boys, and how the experiences of successful boys' workers might be of help in the development of a greater community interest in boys and in boys' welfare agencies. Some of the experiences that other boys' workers have reported were related. The nature of social research as being confidential, similar for example to medical research, was made clear. Some of the questions upon which information of an experience nature rather than of an opinion nature were desired, were mentioned, and then three by five slips were passed around upon which these questions, usually four in number, had been neatly typed. Each person was asked to feel free to present any data that any one or all of these questions suggested to him. The questions follow:

TOPICS FOR GROUP DISCUSSION

1. What are your biggest problems in working with boys in Los Angeles? What do you worry about most?
2. What would you say are *their* biggest problems? What do they worry about?

3. What do you do for boys that they respond to best?
How do you effect changes in their attitudes toward life?
4. What changes in methods of working with boys have you made since you first became interested in them?
(Experiences rather than opinions are valuable.)

Any one who would volunteer was asked to start out, and then others in succession followed in order around the circle. The interview was usually held around a table and informality was encouraged. Sometimes a person would take the questions too objectively, that is, like a questionnaire, and give simply "yes" or "no" answers. The discussion immediately went on to the next person, and then later the person who had fallen into the questionnaire habit would usually become interested and relate valuable experiences.

The methods pursued in securing mental release were similar to those of the personal interview, namely, consideration, gradation, identification, and indirect interrogation.* Questions in the form of

* Discussed in the next chapter.

declarative remarks were introduced occasionally. Frequently the remark of the one speaking would stimulate four or five others to want to talk at once and to tell their experiences. Often several would try to talk simultaneously. It was not uncommon for at least one man in each group to "get started," and to tell so much that others would feel called upon to respond in explanation, and for the first

person to stop suddenly with an exclamation: "I'm afraid I've said too much." Each person in referring to the questions before him would always make statements which would call for further explanation and for interpretation. In watching for significant statements of this character, and in showing a special interest in these, the person in charge of the group interview can be instrumental in having new points brought out. Often a statement of one member starts new trains of thought in the minds of several others present.

One of the main values of the group interview is that there are always persons present who disclose themselves as possessors of data of a too personal nature to be told except in a personal interview. Practically every group interview was followed by significant personal ones, and thus functioned as an explorational enterprise, uncovering valuable source materials.

Moreover, in the excitement which a group interview may reach, and particularly in the counter statements made by one person in answer to another's disclosure, data will be brought to the surface that a personal interview would not likely touch at all. At nearly every group interview a question would elicit contradictory replies from two or more present. At once each would feel called upon to defend his position and in so doing would draw upon his store of reserve experiences in surprising ways. As a result of group discussion, certain per-

sons present developed new points that had not previously occurred to them, and which probably would not have been secured in a personal interview. Creative group discussion is a superior technique.

15. Mr. R—, the representative leader who called one of the group conferences, took a personal interest in raising important questions and in bringing out data that the interviewer could not have secured. He gave considerable attention to the possible discussion of the group meeting. This group furnished an unusual amount of excellent personal experience materials.

Each group, representing one type of boys' work, was composed, as a rule, of men who were well acquainted, even addressing each other by their nicknames. The only "new" person present would be the interviewer who, however, was known by name at least to the group and who had little difficulty ordinarily in establishing rapport.

One of the most interesting group interviews was held at a branch library in an industrial and business district where boys were numerous and troublesome. It was a boys' conference — 45 being present. After brief explanatory remarks including new play facilities that were going to be brought to the neighborhood, the boys were asked to tell what they would like to have in that neighborhood which they do not have, and later in the discussion, were asked to tell why so many boys were getting into trouble there. Of course the older and more troublesome

boys were not present, but there were in attendance boys who "ran with" the older boys, the "gangs" as it were, and who on the other hand had a sense of larger responsibility. At first the statements of the boys were brief and valueless but presently one boy made a statement which the others challenged, and at once five boys were talking at once. In fact the main difficulty during the last half of the meeting was to keep only one boy talking at a time. The boys repeatedly made statements that would be challenged, and would be followed by explanations. The frankness of boys was never more evident than at this conference. Problem parents, problem teachers, gang raids, the police, community disinterest — all these came in for discussion. Restless energy seeking expression in unorganized and disorganized ways wherever organized procedure is not adequately provided sums up the findings of this interview.

Note-taking is a special problem at the discussion type of group interview. In itself it has a strong inhibitory effect, and yet, the conversation as it moves back and forth from individual to individual is so shifting that it is almost impossible to recall fully afterward. The solution that proved best was for the interviewer to keep a few of the slips of paper in his hand upon which the four questions had been typed and given to each one present. It was feasible to jot down from time to time among these questions the necessary "catchwords."

CHAPTER V

THE RESEARCH INTERVIEW

THE SOCIAL research interview, while referring in part to the types of interviews already discussed, aims particularly at discovering human attitudes and adequate bases for interpreting these. The research interviewer is a social reporter, seeking first of all an accurate account of human experiences; of the experiences in which attitudes, opinions, prejudices, are embraced; of experiences that lie behind conflict and accommodation situations alike, of experiences that are different. To make personal experiences objective is the main problem. To get what is in the back of persons' minds out into the open is the chief task. To find out what is behind the faces of the people one meets is the goal. It is important to get pertinent experiences put down in writing by persons concerning themselves, — to get individuals "to pour out their souls."

Personal experience materials are not to be thought of as final; they are simply source materials to be analyzed. Like historical documents they are to be treated objectively, and evaluated critically. When a stock of experience materials has been acquired by the interview method, research

work proper is not completed, but merely ready to be started.

To secure personal experience materials orally and write them out afterward is the simplest process, but this involves the special problem of overcoming one's own biases in judging what is fundamental. To get people to write out their experiences regarding a specific social situation is more difficult, for there arises in the interviewee's mind the special inhibition that these statements, in his own handwriting, may rise up some day to plague him. To get others to write out a complete "life history" (see next Chapter) is the most difficult and worth while undertaking of all.

I. The Problem: Securing Mental Release

The most frequent and general problem is that of overcoming the inhibitions, due to whatever cause, of the interviewee. Sometimes the assurance that the materials will be treated impersonally and that substitute names may be used will produce a favorable response. The reticence and inhibitions of the immigrant interviewee, for instance, may be due to lack of understanding, a deep-seated suspicion, or pure stubbornness. Sometimes looking up previous residences of the interviewee will give a clue to the different dissatisfactions and the new experiences that he has had, and serve as an adequate basis for a successful interview. Again, the friends that a person has, the newspaper that he reads, the places

where he spends his leisure time are an index to his interests and to openings for successful interviews.

Then, there is the person who is not interested in social problems, who does not want to express an opinion at all, who feels that his own experiences are insignificant, and who, in short, does not want to be interviewed. There is the person who feels that a statement of his experiences would be "too personal," and who has a resultant tendency to deal in "glittering generalities" and to refrain carefully from anything of a personal experience nature.

An occupational psychosis is often a controlling factor. Executives and those accustomed to putting other persons to work or to instructing others, are interested in getting others to give personal data but decline to offer help from their own experiences. The occupational habit of getting others to do things hinders free response on the part of the executive or teacher himself. One of the most difficult persons to get any written materials from was one of our race-relations interviewers. He could get others to give him materials, but did not give anything himself. The "intellectual tightwad" is one of the most difficult persons to interview.

Sometimes the personalities of the interviewee and the interviewer clash. When the former turns against the latter it is difficult to obtain results. Until our knowledge of the nature of personality becomes greatly increased the adjustment of clashing personalities will remain a problem.

II. Mechanisms of Mental Release

In securing mental release there are certain mechanisms which may be "touched off" as it were. The principle of mechanical discharge may be illustrated in five ways. First, there is the *naïve* type of habit mechanism. Every person at times speaks naïvely and simply. What he is stimulated to say seems entirely natural and normal, and so he speaks frankly without being aware of it. As informal and as natural a conversation in every particular as possible is ideal.

To urge the interviewee to be frank, or to over-urge him is inhibiting. It is better for the interviewer to create the atmosphere of frankness rather than to urge frankness. To be entirely worthy of confidence opens up social contacts freely and leads to successful interviewing. Actual trustworthiness creates an atmosphere that is recognizable and which breaks even "stranger" barriers. Each conversation has its own natural course. An immigrant, for example, is usually willing to talk freely about the difficulties he has faced in getting settled in America, how others have taken advantage of him, how he has been misunderstood in America. Often the vocational approach is successful, for most persons can and are willing to talk "shop" more than anything else. Most everyone would like a better position than he has now, and is interested in new opportunities. Successful interview-

ing discharges the interviewee's tensions, and gives him a chance to relieve his mind. Moreover, it avoids creating tensions, for then the feelings rise and inhibitions operate.

16. Freedom and completeness in the data can be secured, finally, only upon the basis of impersonal and disinterested attitudes on the part of the investigator. Sympathetic insight is effective when it is in the demeanor rather than in the stating of it to the subject. I get my best results and maintain rapport when I show a certain reticence. Prying at the person during the interview is to inject suspicion and distrust into the situation. We must trust the mechanism of catharsis and the questionnaires as its stimulus to secure the data. The purpose of the interview is to promote rapport, to secure a willingness and desire to write, and to set a situation in which, under proper conditions, catharsis can take place.¹

Second, there is an *egotistical* type of mechanism, which, when released, will open the flood-gates of experience. Nearly everyone feels pleasant when his ego is appealed to, and falls before an increasing sense of personal importance. An exaggerated interest in one's experiences usually releases experiences that ordinarily would not be told.

Sometimes the interviewee needs to be doubted, to be challenged, and then in order to maintain status, to save his pride, he will relate valuable experiences.

17. When a boy won't answer, I tell him that I want to learn about boys, and then ask, 'How in the world can I learn about boys if boys won't tell me anything?' and that

¹ E. T. Krueger, "The Technique of Securing Life History Documents," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, March-April, 1925.

usually "brings them across." Sometimes I say, 'I have come for information,' or 'I have come to get hints and pointers.'²

If an interviewer knows that the interviewee is deliberately withholding important data for fear of loss of status, or of implicating other persons, it may be necessary for the former to indicate that he knows some of the facts that the latter is withholding, and to ask him to account for them. The interviewee is likely to be startled into a complete release of important data.

Through spite, and appeal to pride, or as a result of anger, a person may blurt out "just what he thinks," and disclose facts as readily as though he were talking to an intimate friend. While these cases are exceptional and are likely to be highly colored by distorting emotional reactions, they may release a flood of valuable data.

18. After talking for a short while on local matters, the hut meanwhile becoming rapidly filled with natives, I soon became aware that the people were very suspicious and sulky. They sat and glowered, and would hardly answer the most innocent questions. . . . Having tried to show them, as far as possible, that I had not come to make fresh trouble, I began to talk to them about folk-tales, and to ask if they did not know any which they could tell me, only to be met with the answer: "Oh, yes, the old people of long ago knew stories, but we, their descendants, have not heard them." "Why is that?" said I. "I expect we did not ask for them," replied the man who was answering me. "Well, if that's the

² Boys' Work Survey.

case," said I, "you ought to be ashamed of yourselves, for in every other Dusun village where I have been they have no lack of stories. However, if you won't tell me a story, suppose I tell you one instead." So I told them a short tale that I heard a few days before at Kampong Piasau. When I had finished, one of the old men said with a chuckle at having been found out: "Why, Tuan, how long have you been in the country that you know so much about the Dusun's affairs?" That night I got as many stories as I could take down.³

Third, there is the *confessional* type of mechanism, whose release brings "relief." The desire "to tell someone," whether an intimate friend or a "stranger" who probably will never cross one's path again, is often strong. Continued repression and not necessarily a sense of guilt is sufficient to make "confession" in the psychological sense necessary and wholesome.

"Confessions" are ordinarily made to an intimate acquaintance, as a rule. To perfect strangers one may say little; to casual acquaintances not much more, unless a special *en rapport* has been set up; but to intimates, one may make a complete statement. For example, a court record may show that the cause for which a divorce has been granted was "desertion" or "mistreatment." A questionnaire submitted to both parties concerned would not likely shed any additional light on the situation. Friends may obtain some of the facts, but certain intimates are told the details.

³ H. N. Evans, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo* (Seeley, Service & Co., 1922), pp. 171-2.

Another exception is that indicated by "the impersonal confession," but in such cases a degree of fellow feeling, and of being *en rapport* has been established. In the case of the man riding on the observation car who told Mr. Bain his family troubles, the "confession"⁴ had been preceded by talking about fishing and other interesting matters, until a common feeling combined with a feeling of anonymity had been developed. Confessions of stranger to perfect stranger are rare except as an incipient fellow understanding is aroused. It is true, however, that one will confess more when under the stimuli of impersonal disinterestedness than he will under the stimuli of competitive intimacy. In fact, one's mental tension may become so great and the inhibitions aroused by one's intimates so strong that he will gladly "tell the whole thing" in a somewhat "impersonal and disinterested" interview.⁵ In other words, when one gets away from his primary group relationship, e. g., his family, into a secondary group relationship, he is no longer subject to all his normal inhibitions.

19. In the confessional document the sequence begins with (a) the situation which interferes with the satisfaction of wishes; (b) shows a resulting mental conflict which takes the form of restlessness, fear, or dread, and is followed by (c) a feeling of isolation as self-consciousness arises in the form of inferiority and is attended by contrasts with other persons, and ends in (d) a dominant attitude which defined be-

⁴ See preceding chapter.

⁵ Cf. E. T. Krueger, *op. cit.*

havior. This *a, b, c, d*, sequence is to be thought of as an automatic one. It may be mechanically thought of as the mechanism of the suppressed wish.⁶

Fourth, there is the purely *scientific* type of mechanism indicating the willingness to tell all for the sake of truth and science by one who takes an objective viewpoint concerning himself, who scorns much of the conventional snap judgments of "right" and "wrong," and who is willing to sacrifice "himself" for the sake of science.

It might be added that securing mental releases renders therapeutic service. It is important that tensions not be allowed to persist for a life time, for they create "dispositional traits or reaction patterns."

Fifth, there is a *sophisticated* type of mechanism whose release is the most difficult of all to secure. Some persons are "hard-boiled" as far as being interviewed is concerned.

20. I always leave lawyers and police until the last in my interviewing work. Both have many deliberately built up and impenetrable defense mechanisms. The only way to handle either is to take them on a fishing expedition. In other words, there are some people who are always on their guard — until you get them clear away from all the stimuli of their daily environment.⁷

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Race Relations Survey.

III. Principles of Procedure

The principle of *consideration* requires that the interviewer have a sympathetic understanding of the interviewee, and particularly of his peculiarities and special experiences, and that these be treated respectfully.

21. Frequently the interviewee feels that I have asked something too personal. Then I have to back up and secure his confidence all over again. Hence I have learned never to overplay my hand.⁸

"I never argue with an interviewee," is common testimony. Argument arouses defense reactions and dangerous inhibitions. Data of personal delicacy may be led up to, but not directly sought.

The interviewer⁹ who always manages to be expected, who makes appointments, finds that the plan not only saves a great deal of time for himself, but prevents him from "breaking in" upon the interviewee in inopportune or even embarrassing moments.

Often the busy person says that he can give only ten minutes or even "a minute," but even that is accepted appreciatingly. The interviewer must rely on his ability to arouse the interviewee's interest. After the latter becomes interested he may give an hour, urging the interviewer not to go.

⁸ Boys' Work Survey.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Consideration for an interviewee's feelings and possible inhibitions relates to place and number of persons present. It has already been noted that the interviewee's home is usually unsatisfactory, for it contains inhibitory symbols. The interviewer's office is poor, because of its official implications. Sometimes only the freedom of vacation camp will suffice.

An interview is best conducted when only the two parties concerned are present.

22. A friend of the interviewee joined us, but at once the attitude of the latter changed. He became general and less personal. He lost his freedom in speaking.¹⁰

23. Yesterday I had an interview arranged but a third party joined us and I waited a half hour for him to go. I did not feel free to start the interview, for it seemed that the presence of the third party and the things for which he stood would hinder the interviewee from giving a complete personal statement. So, rather than have an important interview spoiled, I gave it up entirely for that trip and decided to try again.¹¹

The principle of consideration may be illustrated in another way, that of meeting with a too talkative interviewee, who "rambles on and off," but mostly off the subject, and of listening patiently to him.

¹⁰ Race Relations Survey.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

24. I got an interviewee started the other day, and I could not stop him. He started off on a long line of reminiscences which soon left our race relations subject entirely. Whenever I could get a question in edgewise, I brought him back to the subject, but he would soon be off in another direction that had no connection with our main theme. I spent two and one-half hours and obtained almost no materials. What can I do?¹²

Part of the answer is found in the report of the interviewer who said she had lost an afternoon in listening to a garrulous old man, but that she kept cool and went back the next day and was entirely successful. The first day the interviewee had "talked himself out," and the second day he gave an account of the experiences that were being sought. Another research reporter says that even when a person is talking "off" the subject he is often able to learn a great deal.

The principle of *gradation*, or gradual approach, must be observed, otherwise the interviewee will react in feelings if not in words as follows: What are you here for? Why are you interested in me so suddenly? A Boys' Survey interviewer was greeted: "What are you doing here, you old hookey cop?" And another as follows: "Who told you to help me anyway?"

25. I usually talk first and then ask questions. As a rule I begin by asking something not very important. As the interview proceeds, I usually add a remark now and then, which tends to release new memory mechanisms.¹³

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Boys' Work Survey.

"I usually come as a friend, or from a friend of the interviewee," says an interviewer. "I never come in an official capacity if I can help it." Boys' Work Survey cards of introduction were printed, but their use was soon discarded. The term "Survey" aroused deadly suspicions and inhibitions.

"Give me your life history," said a crude interviewer to a Japanese, who did not respond. Another with a pencil and paper in hand began with the first words of the interviewee to take down everything that was said, but soon found the interview ended. "I came from the Race Relations Survey," said another interviewer, and wondered why the interview was a failure, not recognizing that the mention of the Survey was inhibiting to any one who did not understand it. The difficulty was partly in mentioning the Survey, and partly in the fact that the interviewer did not have full prestige in the eyes of the interviewee.

The principle of *identification*, whereby interviewee develops a fellow feeling for interviewer, is widely useful. Sometimes an interviewer may secure the desired data by confessing something about himself, by telling of his own misconduct and thus identifying his experiences with those of an interviewee. "On occasion I tell something very bad against myself, and that brings results." Again, the interviewer after telling some of his own experiences may ask: "How do those fit in with your experiences?"¹⁴

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

26. As the boy "sensed" that I had experiences and anxieties similar to his own, he "loosened up" and talked "like a blue streak," amazing me beyond expectation, for I thought him stupid and taciturn.¹⁵

This sometimes has been called the subjective method of securing an interview. It is indirect, sympathetic, and establishes that confidence born of mutual experience.

A related principle is that of *reference*. By connecting himself with some prominent person in good standing in the eyes of the interviewee, the interviewer achieves prestige and secures the desired *entree*.

27. If I could mention someone "higher up" and indicate that I had been at his home or dined with him, that would give me prestige at once.¹⁶

The wider the experience of a person the more likely will he succeed in arousing in the interviewee a sense of identification. A Race Relations interviewer seeing three Hindus standing in front of a store in an Imperial Valley town stepped up to them and addressed them in Hindustani. They were agreeably surprised, and smiling, asked: "Where did you learn Hindustani?" The interviewer replied: "In India," whereupon an interview of three hours followed. The principle of *indirect interrogation* regulates the trend that personal interviews

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

may take. The best interviewer asks the fewest direct questions. He "starts off" the interviewee by "chance remarks" and comments. Moreover, these are interposed when the conversation of the interviewee becomes irrelevant. Often, a mere phrase, "Excuse me, but I don't understand what you said a moment ago about——," will suffice.

In holding an interview, it is important that the interviewer safeguard himself from his own biases and preconceived notions. "All of us notice the things that we are interested in," and overlook the things not within the range of our field of values. Two interviewers will obtain different materials from similar reports. It is essential, therefore, that the interviewer safeguard himself against that which he "expects" to see and hear. The principle of exploration extends even to one's attitude as to what is interesting or uninteresting. It is necessary to use both the most general type of question as well as specific questions. In fact, it is wise not to ask questions but to make remarks which will keep the interviewee talking about anything within the field of study. The interviewer who makes out his questions first and then, just a block before he arrives, goes over them again "so that when I reach the interviewee I know just what I want to find out," illustrates a commendable degree of preparedness, but also an important weakness. If one knows too definitely what he is going after, he may miss a number of valuable points.

The phrasing of one's questions brings out variations in answers. A study of the logic of questioning will prevent one from falling into needless errors.¹⁷ In the first place, there is the expectative question, that is, the one which implies an expected answer, which suggests its own answer. For example: "You were disappointed in the United States when you first arrived, weren't you?" An immigrant who does not fully grasp a question will likely answer "Yes," out of sheer human courtesy, and thus may give a wrong impression. At least he may be stimulated to exaggerate in his own mind the implication of an expectative question.

There is the disjunctive question: Do you like or dislike Americans? As a matter of fact, there is a third possibility which is left entirely in the background, namely, a possible neutral feeling.

The implicative question asks, How was the exploiter dressed? when the man in question was not necessarily an exploiter at all. This is the type of question that Iago used when he wished to imply to Othello that Desdemona and Cassio were unfaithful to Othello.

The indeterminate question gives the one interrogated an unbiased opportunity to answer, and hence it is the best. How do you like working in the steel mills? The answer may be favorable, unfavorable,

¹⁷The following analysis was developed in connection with Race Relations Survey but was suggested by G. M. Whipple's "The Obtaining of Information; Psychology of Information and Report."

or any shade in between, and leaves a full measure of judgment to the questionee.

It is important that remarks and questions be "intelligent."

28. A Survey investigator waited on me, showed a great interest in me, but soon his questions and comments showed that he knew little about the subject he was talking on. I concluded that his interest in me was false, so I stopped talking.¹⁸

29. I treated him with great respect. I thought he was a learned gentleman, but when in conversation he indicated he didn't know any of the prominent men in my country and seemed so provincial I was no longer awe-struck. I was utterly disappointed and concluded not to talk.¹⁹

It is essential not to be bent overmuch on even interrogation, and thus direct the interview to the oversight of unanticipated data. Rich mines of experiences are often pocketed in places that questioning will not likely pierce. "At the most unexpected moments, and when I am anticipating least, I often secure the most valuable materials."

"I am always watching for leads," that is, as the interviewee proceeds, the undercurrents of his statements are noted. What sounds most insignificant is often fraught with precious suggestions. "I watch for 'leads' and then more 'leads'," discloses the exploring attitude of interviewing and implies that the way a person tells his experiences is fraught with tell-tale data.

¹⁸ An Oriental interviewee.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

The principle of *discrimination* must be continually invoked. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the interviewee's past experiences and his prejudices. It is more difficult usually to get him to make these discriminations. Moreover, he does not always distinguish between what he has learned in a first-hand way and that which he has received second-hand. In this case, the interviewee usually employs the phrase, "I think," repeatedly.

In order to be accepted as authentic the results of an interview require some kind of corroboration. Sometimes a mere cross-examination of the interviewee is sufficient. Sometimes the problem can be met by interviewing other persons who are involved.

Where interviewees contradict each other it is necessary to examine antecedent happenings and to approach the situation from one new angle after another until the results fall into similar explanations. Occasionally, it is necessary to bide one's time, and at a later time, to start all over again.

It is important to distinguish between the ordinary and conventional reaction of explaining one's conduct in terms of social approval and disapproval, of justifying one's self, and the social-psychological explanations, namely, in descriptive terms of basic motives and attitudes and "the social situations which call these attitudes into existence." In the latter connection lie the subtlest inhibitions.

²⁰ E. T. Krueger, "The Value of Life History Documents for Social Research," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, January-February, 1925, p. 197.

Another problem is found in the errors which people unintentionally make in remembering past experience narratives. These discrepancies are often significant in themselves for they may account for many misunderstandings.

To the student of social attitudes erroneous remembering is as significant as correct remembering, for a distorted remembrance influences a person's current opinion just as truly as an exact remembrance. If it includes a feeling of injustice, a great sorrow, a piece of good fortune, or any striking emotional experience, the greater the distortion is likely to be, and the more seriously one's current opinions are affected. While the distortion may not disclose anything regarding the nature of one's deepest attitudes, "it reveals something of the intensity of them." Hence the distortion and the errors of remembering may be far more important than the original experience itself.

30. Hearsay, rumor, current anecdotes, are all interesting and revealing when one knows the region, the class, or the racial and language group in which they are current. A story, true or false, frequently repeated is an index to the state of mind of the group in which it circulates, particularly if it circulates without contradiction. We are not seeking for unprejudiced statements of fact. We are seeking for statements, as I have said, that are expressions which reveal at once the mind of the individual and the mores of the group.²¹

²¹ R. E. Park, "Field Studies in Americanization," assignment 9, p. 4, University of California Correspondence Courses.

IV. Taking Notes

The taking of full notes during a research interview is to be discouraged. The taking of notes in the presence of the interviewee will sidetrack the free expression of his reactions.

31. I do as the newspaper reporters, that is, have an old stub of a pencil handy and maybe a torn envelope and carelessly and without effort set down a catchword now and then. I have often noticed that a newspaper man in interviewing me may toy with his pencil on a scrap of paper making marks aimlessly until I have forgotten all about his pencil and paper, and then observed him write down phrases from my conversation.²²

Note-taking conspicuously done is a restraining influence on the interviewee. On the other hand, no note-taking may mean that valuable hints will be lost entirely. "Jottings" taken casually, however, appear to be a frequent compromise, providing the interviewer will write out his report as soon after the interview is ended as possible. In certain instances the interviewee may agree to write out portions of his experiences, but even so he will rarely include all that he states orally. He will not write with the freedom that he speaks when talking confidentially. His emotional reactions will rarely be included in the written report.

An interviewer reports that she does not take notes in the presence of the interviewee but makes one exception, namely, when historical facts are

²² Race Relations Survey.

mentioned. "I sometimes say, 'Wait a minute. Let me get that down,' and the interviewee feels pleased to think that he can instruct me and that the history of his people is so important that I want to get it."²³

V. Following Up the First Interview

32. I go over my data as soon after an interview is concluded as I may, and always new questions occur to me. I arrange a second interview, and even a third, and from these, often obtain more bed-rock materials than from the first.²⁴

A second and third interview are important because the interviewee may be in a different frame of mind on these occasions and may relate items which did not occur to him the first time, and in a way to throw new light on the problems in hand. In the second or third interview a person speaks from the standpoint of giving the matter under consideration some thought. The reactions are more thoughtful when compared with the more spontaneous reactions of the first interview. One type of reaction without the other is incomplete.

33. I often conduct the second interview through the mails. In this way the interviewee sends me a carefully written statement which I use in conjunction with the first free impulsive reactions. They serve as a check upon my personal reports of the first interview.²⁵

²³ Boys' Work Survey interviewer.

²⁴ Boys' Work Survey.

²⁵ Race Relations Survey.

When is an interview complete? asks a student. An interview should be followed by other interviews as long as they enable one to discover new factors. Keep on interviewing, whether interviewing one person or a whole group, until little new or different appears—and then stop. Data tend to fall into types, but types are rarely typical. As long as interviewing brings out new types of experiences, or even new experiences, it is not wholly complete.

VI. Securing Written Materials

Some persons are ready to talk freely, but not to write. They are usually persons who have pronounced opinions either for or against somebody or something, and hence, in these cases, there is no difficulty in opening the interview. A special problem is to get such persons to distinguish between opinions and experiences. A citizen said to one of our interviewers: "All my experiences with the Japanese make me believe that they are dishonest and crooked." When the interviewer asked the citizen to cite some of his experiences the latter became angry and exclaimed: "Don't you believe what I say? Do you insist on taking me into court and cross-examining me?" The interviewee, like many others, felt that his opinion ought to be sufficient and final authority.

Persons of pronounced opinions are often unwilling to write out their experiences. They feel that to set down their aversions in writing is unnecessary,

and that somehow they are not being trusted. They are often suspicious and afraid that they will incriminate themselves; they are cautious, inquiring carefully regarding the uses to which their statements might be put. Sometimes they show resentment, and again, they challenge the scientific viewpoint as being pro-Japanese, pro-Bolshevik, or pro-something which they are not.

On the other hand, many of those interviewed in the Race Relations Survey who were pro-Oriental were also reluctant to write out their experiences, often giving the impression that they did not want to be bothered, or, expressing the reaction that such a procedure was too slow, and that more definite action of a reform nature was needed. The lack of a scientific attitude on the part of the interviewee is especially troublesome.

Again, people of prominence, preachers, university professors, school principals, city officials, are slow about writing up personal materials. The feeling is indicated that they are superior to such an exercise. The method is all right and the materials valuable, but let the other fellow do it — is the attitude. The technique for securing written life histories will be taken up in the next chapter.

Research interviewing, unlike case work interviewing, is never hurried. It takes all the time there is. It does not ask the "client" standardized and formal questions, but gets the interviewee to talking naturally and thus obtains the unexpected and

deep-seated materials as well as the more superficial. It does not ask embarrassing questions about disease and conduct and thus create or heighten tensions and inhibitions. It does obtain, not merely facts, but what is more important, a basis for interpreting them correctly.

The important thing in interviewing, is to make a gradual approach to "the center of a person's life," to develop rapport and identification, to understand the technique of mental release. "A person is always withholding something from others." Sometimes he withholds a great deal, but always something. The successful interviewer is the one who gets persons to withhold the least. Success in interviewing can be measured by the degree to which an interviewee can be stimulated to tell his own natural or social-psychological history.

CHAPTER VI

THE LIFE HISTORY

THE MOST important interviewing is that which succeeds in obtaining life histories. This type of document differs from an ordinary autobiography in that it gives the natural history of a person. It describes the person's mental reactions to the earliest social stimuli that he can recall and explains how these have led to attitudes, opinions, a sense of values, and standards. It gives the natural history of the evolution of an individual as a biological unit into a person as a socially functioning being. It depicts a person's mental and social conflicts, his crises, and throws light on the adjustments and accommodations that he has worked out. It helps thus to explain the origin and nature of a person's philosophy of life, and his other personality traits.

The life history differs from the autobiography in that the latter is more formal, is written with an idea of maintaining status and with the judgment of the public in mind, is likely to devote considerable space to "family trees," and other more or less objective data. The life history deals with personal experiences; it brings out what is in "the back of one's head," without special thought to favorable or un-

favorable judgments that may result. It reveals what *is* and *was*, without judgments of merit or demerit. It records a person's reactions to situations as conceived by him at the time. It is secured not primarily from distinguished people whose autobiographies have a selling value, but from persons who have had important experiences in any given social situation, especially in a conflict situation.

The life history differs from the case history which the social worker secures in that the latter stresses the "individual," and his problems, while the former emphasizes the "person" in his development out of various communal situations and stimuli; explains how the person has lost status, and may indicate how he can regain a zest in life. The former seeks answers to definite questions, and follows definite forms; the former seeks to release tensions and to get a person to describe freely his *interesting experiences*. "It is introspective and reflective, revealing the inner, private life in terms of the fundamental motives or attitudes and the social situations which call these attitudes into existence."¹

Life histories of both the Oriental immigrant and the native American were secured in the Race Relations Survey. Document IV is one prepared by Dr. R. E. Park for securing the life histories of Oriental immigrants. It is a modification of a similar treatise used earlier by Dr. Park called "The Life

¹ E. T. Krueger, "The Value of Life History Documents for Social Research," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, January-February, 1925.

History as a Social Document.”² It aims to obtain four things: A story of the immigrant’s first contacts with American thought and practices; second, the story of his conflicts with American ways of thinking and doing, American customs, conventions, and standards; third, the story of whatever accommodations the immigrant has been able to make with these strange ways; and fourth, to obtain an understanding of the immigrant’s resulting philosophy of life. It may indirectly help to explain the nature of “prejudices,” and of “assimilation” or “socialization.”

Document IV

THE LIFE HISTORY AS A SOCIAL DOCUMENT

Suggestions as to what is important in the Life History of Orientals and other Immigrants

Life histories of immigrants are valuable in so far as they give us insight into the processes of the “melting pot.” We seek to learn from these documents:

(1) What the immigrant brings to this country as a heritage from the mother country. What are his hopes, ambitions, and his illusions in regard to life in America?

(2) What does he bring in the way of equipment, education, technical training, industrial habits, etc.? How much of his heritage, his language, for example, and his traditions are a handicap to him? How far is he able to overcome these handicaps? How does he actually accommodate himself to American life?

² See *Making Social Science Studies*, by E. S. Bogardus (Jesse Ray Miller, 1925), pp. 46-49.

(3) What about the second generation, the children? How far do they seek to preserve the language, traditions, and habits of thought of the older generation? How far do they succeed? What is the effect upon them of the inevitable break between the customs of their parents and of the Americans among whom they live?

These are the questions to which we have in the past found, and must still seek, answers in the stories which the immigrants tell of their own intimate personal experiences in this country.

The following inquiries are intended to be suggestive, merely. What is wanted is a narrative, concise, vivid, personal, with all the inflections and accents of the individual man or woman — and, so far as possible, in the first person.

I. Early Life

1. What had been your life, i. e., your place of residence, occupation, and ambitions before coming to America?
2. When did you first hear of America and what were your early notions and interests in regard to it?
3. What are the stories, legends, and general conceptions of America current in the part of the country whence you came?
4. Why did you choose to come to California rather than Hawaii, Australia, or Mexico?

II. First Impressions of America

1. What was the most interesting thing about America as you saw it for the first time?
2. What was most difficult to comprehend in your new experiences here?
3. What were your first and greatest difficulties in finding your way about and getting adjusted to America?
4. Did your fellow countrymen look strange or disappointing out here, or did you feel immediately at home with them?

5. What *shocked* you most about America? What about the freedom of young women? The candor with which Americans discuss love affairs and sentimental matters in their daily conversation, in their newspapers, billboards, and movies?
6. How far have your own notions about the freedom of women, the independence of children, etc., changed as a result of life in America?
7. How about the younger generation? Does the "freedom" of and "independence" of Americans bring them into conflict with their parents? Does it unfit them for life in the old country?
8. How have you or your people sought to meet the problem of the second generation?

III. Social Contacts

1. How far have you been able to master the spoken and written language of America?
2. What newspapers, magazines, or books do you read in English? What book have you read that interests you most?
3. What acquaintances have you made among Americans and how intimate have your relations with Americans been?
4. To what organizations, church, social, or welfare, if any, do you belong which bring you in touch with Americans?
5. What, if anything, are your own people, independently or in association with others, doing to improve the condition of your neighborhood or your community?
6. How have the land laws affected your personal and family life? Have they tended to make you nomadic, unsettled, and restless? How do you propose to meet this difficulty?
7. Do your people have more family difficulties, divorces, and desertions in this country than in the old? If so, how do you explain that fact?

IV. Conflicts and Accommodations

1. Have you had difficulties in finding a suitable home? Did your efforts to find a suitable home bring you into conflict with your neighbors? How did you manage to make peace and on what terms?
2. Has anything occurred in your experience to make you wish to avoid Americans; keep at a distance from them; or conceal your feelings regarding them?
3. If you had the one chance of your life time to express what you feel deepest about America and Americans, what would you say?
4. In what ways do Americans misunderstand and misjudge foreign peoples and especially your own?
5. Are you planning to return finally to your native country or to send your children back? If not, why?

V. Philosophy of Life

1. How far have you realized the ambitions with which you came to America?
2. What illusions have you had in regard to life in America and how far have you become reconciled to life here as it is?
3. Are you an internationalist and a cosmopolitan? If so, do you think such an ideal is being, and is likely to be, realized?
4. What is or will be your ambition for your children?
5. Are you in favor of intermarriage now or ultimately? If that does not take place, how do you think the race problem is likely to be solved?

In Document IV the questions under Roman numeral I "locate" the immigrant. They serve as a basis for understanding his "first impressions" of the people whom he is contacting for the first time. To know an immigrant's social heritage and his attitudes helps to forecast and understand his first "impressions."

The questions under "II" will tend to bring out the actual nature of the immigrant's preliminary, sensory, somewhat impersonal, perhaps, "impressions" in an objective and understandable way. Question 5 has proved one of the most valuable, because its wording releases impressions that otherwise would be withheld for fear of being impolite or disrespectful. The answers to it bring out the sharper contrasts between the attitudes of the immigrant and the social values of the people he is meeting for the first time.

34. The thing that shocked me most about America is the way the girls act toward boys. One day I went to the beach and saw nothing but the most scandalous thing in my life, almost naked girls, men, and women. I said to myself, "What a pity! My country never can and never will reach this type of civilization."

Coming home on a Ford from Tujunga where I was invited to talk in a church a couple of Sundays ago were two young men, each with his girl friend. One boy drove the machine and beside him was his girl. In the back seat was the other boy, his girl, and myself. We drove almost twenty miles to North Broadway and the old Ford almost ran amuck because almost all the way down the boy drove with one hand and the other was around the girl's body. They kissed each other many times. They seemed to be unconscious of the presence of an observer. I said within me that night, "What an asset for both good and an incentive for evil these second-hand Fords are!" This event did not shock me as much as my thought of the looseness and freedom of girls in this country. (Filipino)

35. I was very much shocked on the train from San Francisco to Los Angeles when a black man they called a porter came into the car to make down the beds and *men* slept in the same car. Now what do you think of that? In Malaysia, we have a compartment to ourselves, and there is not any upstairs bed. I had to sleep on the high shelf for my teacher was sixty years old and I could not be so impolite as to let her sleep there. But I was afraid I would fall out and get cinders in my eyes and I thought this was a very strange country — this United States.

Then there were other things that shocked S. and do yet, she tells me. The use of rouge she spoke of first. "In Malaysia," she said, "only bad women use rouge and here I see good girls use it — at least they are considered good, respectable girls."

A description of the social contacts following first impressions is called for under "III." The organizations and groups to which an immigrant has access are indicative of the prevailing types of his contacts. The first part of "IV" relates to the results of the contacts which are "different" or perhaps shocking. These denote the immigrant's major problems. They constitute "crises" to him, upsetting his established habits, creating strong emotional reactions.

These *conflicts* are likely to be experienced by an immigrant in getting work to do, in finding a home, and in associating with "shrewd" Americans or fellow nationals. A misunderstanding of conditions and exploitation easily lead to conflicts. Having to learn a new kind of work in this country, to do it under an American "boss," and to live under unexpected conditions produce conflicts.

36. A Sunday School class gave a swimming party. The boys and girls enjoyed the swimming in the tank, but there were two boys who were refused the use of the tank; they were Japanese boys, both sons of prominent Japanese in H——. I am told that they cried before their parents when they got home. I do not know what Christian idea that Sunday School teacher had but I am very sorry that that teacher missed a wonderful opportunity to demonstrate the real principle of Christian brotherhood before American children. (Japanese)

37. We came to the American home of a missionary. She told us to remain our baggages on the front porch and then go to town. A great question came to my mind and said "Why can't she not give us a room—we are perfect strangers and do not know where to go about in town? Then, why does she not let us put our baggages inside the house?" These questions came to me because of the different customs that the Filipinos have with those of the Americans. In my country when a stranger comes to our door, we beg him to stay with us, especially when it is getting late at day, treat him the best we know how and keep him in every possible way. This might be the reason why we are noted for our "hospitality." I thought that the American people would treat the strangers the same way. (Filipino)

38. It is indeed a great disappointment to me and it breaks my heart to think that many of the good Americans who have been in my country have misrepresented my people to their own people. I have seen exhibitions in museums and in the windows of the banks and big stores of the primitive utensils, furniture, implements, etc., of the backward and ignorant Filipinos. Some books are full of pictures of the naked Igorots and their primitive ways of living—people who only number about one-twentieth of the whole population. Even the missionaries themselves, in their lectures and in their articles published in the papers, they talk of the dark side of the Filipino life. Through all of these, the

American people in this country formed their opinion that the Filipinos are nothing but backward, uncivilized, wild, and naked people. (Filipino)

39. I felt race consciousness when I was going down Cherry street in the third day of my American life. A group of young shipyard workers were coming up the opposite sidewalk and poured upon us, for I was with one of my friends, the words, "Hey, Yellow! Jap, Jap." I did not know what they meant until my friend explained it to me. I tried to forget it by thinking that they were ignorant, uneducated workers. But things similar to this happened many times since. . . . I have experiences of that sort with the street car conductors many times. (Japanese)

The life history will also bring out the *accommodations* that the immigrant has made. Sometimes these are unsatisfactory to him, but seem to him to be the best that he can do. They represent at least a temporary solution of conflicts. Some compensatory factor is usually the explanation of the accommodation.

40. At the present time we are living in a home which is no home; it is nothing more than a house. Yet I love it, because my neighbors are kindly and good to me. My next door neighbor (an American) treats me as she does her own daughters; I am in and out of her house daily. I take all my troubles to her, and she helps me as one who needs understanding and love. (Japanese)

41. Sundays were the dreaded days. In the afternoon I did not know anybody to go to see, so I had to stay in my room and write to my friends at home. My love for my friends at home grew very much. Sometimes I wrote letters all afternoon and then at night went to a show to forget and

get over my lonesomeness. I did not have anybody to tell my troubles to. . . . One thing I learned of this lonesomeness was to be satisfied with my own company; a book now can provide me the response necessary. (Porto Rican)

42. I have tried to keep that ideal (a kindly spirit toward this country and the American people) through all that has happened and to teach my children to do the same. Many times it has been hard as when I would rent a bed to a man (American) for fifteen cents and then have him smoke in bed and burn up the bedding which cost me many times the price of his bed. Some of the men would come in drunk and create a disturbance; others would sleep quietly. But always I tried to think that I was serving these poor American workmen as well as earning money for myself so I did not complain when things went wrong. I was reconciled and resigned. (Japanese)

In the accommodations that are effected, assimilation may result. As this takes place largely in unconscious ways to the persons involved its analysis by them is rare. One is made aware from time to time that he has changed in his attitudes, much to his own surprise.

43. My background is American. My ideals of life, of education, of religion, even all, is American. I know the Constitution; the oath of allegiance; I know the history of America from its earliest beginnings. I know its strength and weakness. I have loved America and its ideal, because her ideals were my ideals. I have risen up in wrath against any criticism which might be made against America, my country. (Japanese)

44. I learned at school today that there is going to be a war with Japan, and if there is, I am going to have to fight you. Why? (asked the father.) Because you're a foreigner. (Japanese Boy)

45. Unless people tell me I am a Japanese I forget it for I seem to belong here and to be a part of everything. My children feel more or less like that too. When we came to Seattle (after living in eastern United States) and started up the street from the depot we met some Japanese and my children said, 'Oh, mama, look at the Italians!' They have seen so few Japanese in their lives that they did not recognize them. They even looked strange to me and I thought the houses they lived in were terrible. Japanese do not live in such places in Japan and I find it difficult to understand why they do here. (Japanese)

The life histories also reveal that out of the accommodations and assimilations there develops a changed *philosophy of life*. As a rule this represents, in the case of the Orientals on the Coast, a disappointed attitude toward the United States. High hopes regarding America have been shattered and many expectations have fallen flat.

46. Democracy as explained (by an American) is far from the democracy which we Japanese already understood. He said that American democracy is primarily for the benefit of American people. It has to obey the wishes of the people, which are constantly changing; hence the inconsistency in her policy. Consequently, American democracy (he said) can never be polite. This means, I think, the international idea. I am discouraged by American democracy. . . . We must throw away the idea of race prejudice for internationalism. If we cannot solve this question there will be no peace among human beings permanently. (Japanese)

47. When I have no job it seems as if everything is against me. In America, it seems to me, labor is nothing but a commodity. (But) I say labor is a blessing and the means through which life at its best is attained. I am an internationalist and cosmopolitan. . . . America is no place for me. I am not needed here at all. The Philippines need me and my services more than Uncle Sam. (Filipino)

The life history questionnaire has been experimented with by E. T. Krueger,³ who states that it helps a person "to organize his study into a more connected and complete account," than he would otherwise make. It eliminates "irrelevancy." It is "not to be broadcasted but to be used in selected instances where there is some personal contact." It is designed, not to secure detached information about everything that a person has achieved, but concerning "tension situations, crises, attitudes, and vivid memories." It is "suggestive rather than detailed," being designed to release a person's tension mechanisms. It secures data not by prolonged and laborious questioning but by skilfully given and vivid stimulations. It should secure "a narrative document rather than expository one." The person is urged "not to answer questions as such, but to narrate the concrete experiences aroused by the questions."

The multiple-sentence paragraph type of life history questionnaire, which asks about the same situation in several different ways produces "a more thorough arousement of the person's imagination and memory." The procedure may follow a chronological or a subject-matter method, or a combination of the two as in Document IV. The chronological age-period technique "is aided by customary memory processes; the subject-matter method is

* "The Technique of Securing Life History Documents," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, March-April, 1925.

limited because experiences are not composed of separate threads but are interwoven strands which cannot be separated without violence to the data."

If a person is willing to write out a life history, then he should not be allowed to tell part of it orally, for his later written narrative will as a result be abbreviated. He should be encouraged to "write when alone" and "confidentially," even using substitute names for persons and places. If he writes on both sides of the paper, suggests Dr. Krueger, his document will seem shorter than it is and he may be expected accordingly to write more.

48. When the complete document is brought in, it is opportune to secure permission to use it, in whole or in part, "if it should prove valuable" assuring the writer again of strict disguise. The human nature factors of uniqueness of experience and the desire to play an important rôle have a bearing on the feeling of pride which generally can be counted upon to gain consent for use. To secure permission at a later date may prove difficult.⁴

⁴ E. T. Krueger, *ibid.*

CHAPTER VII

LIFE HISTORY TYPES

I. The Native American Life History

LIFE HISTORIES of Americans also proved valuable in the Race Relations Survey. Some of these were obtained from persons with well-known anti-Oriental attitudes; some, with friendly feelings toward the Oriental; some, with more or less impersonal attitudes in the matter but who had had contacts with Orientals.

Document IV, inserted in Chapter VI, was used with good results. As a rule Americans caught the meaning of the life history more quickly than did the Oriental but were more reluctant to write it out. They sometimes disclosed an attitude of superiority to the process — a willingness to let others respond. Or, "It's a fine thing to do, but I'm pretty busy you know." "Too much else to do." "It would take a week to do it."

"We don't have to sign our own names, do we?" is indicative of personal sensitiveness, which in extreme cases led persons to refuse altogether. Some would promise, even with enthusiasm, but never "got around to it." Many were willing to have life

histories secured, but were unwilling to write their own.

The American's life history questionnaire followed the same plan as the Oriental's life history questionnaire, namely, that of securing a narrative rather than a "yes" or "no" set of answers, a report on first contacts, on conflicts, accommodations. When the American felt a tension situation, the aim was to get this tension released through statement of experiences.

Examples of *first contacts* of Americans are interesting not only in themselves but also for comparative purposes with the *first contacts* of immigrants with Americans.

49. I remember well the first time I saw a Negro. I was four or five years old. The Negro was to me simply a curiosity. I don't remember that I ever experienced any repulsion toward the black race. I remember when I was quite small my father read aloud *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and I think that helped to make me friendly toward the Negro.¹

50. As a little child I remember some little mulatto children and tried hard to imagine myself with a white grandfather and a black grandmother. My nurse watched me very closely. When she learned of my interest she forbade me to go near them. But "forbidden fruit" — you know — and one day I ventured too close. A shower of stones fell on me — and I still have a scar on my head from one of them. That was my first experience with mulattoes. After that my nurse filled my mind with disagreeable tales about mulattoes.²

¹ Race Relations Survey.

² *Ibid.*

Conflict situations are pictured in various ways, sometimes growing out of unfortunate first contacts, again out of mature observations of "disgusting" conduct, out of imagination let loose, or out of pure argumentation based on limited experiences or somebody's adverse reports.

51. During the World War hundreds of Russian refugees came to Japan where I (an American) was living. The streets were full of Russians "jabbering away." They had an abundance of money and flung it here and there in a way to make one believe the rumors that went around that they were low class folk who had stolen jewels and other valuables in their own country, and had escaped. When one of them would pay \$150 a month for a house that an American had been renting for \$75, the Russian in most cases would get the house. Servants became scarce and high priced. Dress goods, food, everything that foreigners used went up and up, because of the Russians, as we thought then. They upset our economic situation or we thought they did.³

The *accommodations* that are illustrated in many race life histories of Americans are often of a subjective adjustment nature, as in Cases 1 and 2; or perhaps more objective and due, as in Case 3, to economic reasons.

52. I can remember a time when we as a family were most bitter in our denunciation of the Jews. Then to our consternation my sister married a Jew and we had to associate with them for her sake. . . . During many visits

³ Race Relations Survey.

among the families of my Jewish brother-in-law's relatives, I have received most hospitable treatment, have found the home life lovely, refined, cultured, modulated voices, musical training, moderate expenditure, sincerity rather than ostentation and superficiality. . . . I (now) admire the Jews where once I stood aloof and scorned them.⁴

53. My first feelings toward Chinese were fear, because they were so very different and their language didn't sound human. I used to hurry past Chinese laundries because I was afraid. . . . Years later, I began to like them because I found that they were like other people and had admirable traits too. This new, common-sense feeling came through contact with them, Chinese schoolmates, boys and girls; also through Chinese cooks on the ranch where I stayed awhile.⁵

The major attention was given to obtaining a picture of the American's conflicts and accommodations in his contacts with immigrants. One set of pictures gives an understanding of the process whereby race prejudices by Americans are developed; the other, an understanding of the processes whereby good will is funded.

In the illustration of accommodations it was noted that the adjustments did not usually extend to a person's giving up any of his established beliefs for those of some immigrant group. They usually stopped with obtaining an appreciation of why the immigrant is different and with the working out of plans for friendly interracial relations.

⁴ Race Relations Survey.

⁵ *Ibid.*

II. Teacher-pupil Histories

An important type of personal race-relations history of Americans is that involving case histories of Oriental children written by teachers who have Oriental pupils in their classes. The teacher-pupil relation is a steady, continuous one, extending over a period of time sufficient to give to the teacher an opportunity to learn of the problems facing Oriental children in this country. Document V, prepared by Dr. Park, follows the plan of life histories in general, but is adjusted to the teacher-pupil relationship. It may be noted that emphasis is placed on studying the pupil's "isolation" situation.

Attention is also given to the special problems of adjustment to American social standards which the Oriental and other children find much more difficult than do native American children. These conflicts therefore are especially important.

Document V

SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS ON THE PACIFIC COAST

(An Outline for writing a Case History of Oriental Children)

The present study of Race Relations will be based, as far as practicable, on case studies. It aims in this way to supplement statistical and formal information with concrete facts; facts, that is to say, based on experience and personal contact between the races in any or all of the ordinary relations of life.

Teachers have an opportunity to know at first hand the younger generation of Orientals and the problems that their presence in the schools and in the community has created. Teachers are, therefore, in a particularly favorable position to supplement general observations with intimate personal knowledge. It is important to know the racial type, but it is just as important to discover how far this type is capable of deviation in different individuals, under the different conditions of American life.

Case studies for the purpose of this study is a record of any experience, event, or other matter of first hand observation or knowledge that seems likely to throw light upon existing race relations. A report of such a case study should ordinarily include some statement in regard to the character and extent of the investigator's knowledge about and acquaintance with Oriental peoples.

On the basis of this information a more specific and detailed project for further study may be worked out. That is, in fact, part of the plan.

The following outline, it is perhaps unnecessary to add, is intended to be suggestive merely. What is desired most in the way of a report, is a *free and full narrative of personal experiences*; letters, classroom papers, or other documents illustrating points of interest in this narrative, are particularly desirable. *Do not try to answer these questions categorically but on the basis of them write in your own way your own observations.*

I. Personal Contacts

1. Aside from the relation of teacher and pupil, how many Orientals — Japanese, Chinese, Hindus, or Filipinos — have you known *personally*?
2. Have you had occasion to visit the homes of any of your Oriental pupils? If so, what impressions did you gather from such visits?
3. What differences, if any, have you observed in the racial traits, say, of the Japanese and Chinese, or the Japanese and Hindus?

4. What specially interested you, in any of your Oriental pupils?
5. What sort of difficulties, other than one would expect of any pupil of the same age, have *you* had in dealing with Oriental pupils?

II. Isolation

One of the facts to be considered in this study is the extent and character of what we may call the isolation of Orientals. Isolation may be physical. In that case, it is segregation. It may be mental, due to inability to integrate oneself with the community. It may be moral, when as a consequence of prejudice, the individual feels himself shut out from social contacts.

1. How freely do Oriental children meet, talk, and play with other children? What observations have you made on the playground? Is the play supervised? Do Orientals play with other children? Do the little children or the older ones play with one another more freely? At what age are they most together? When do they begin to separate?
2. What effect does such ostracism as Orientals ordinarily encounter have upon their interest in their studies? Do they recite freely before the other children? Does it discourage them? Does it make them desire to escape from association with their own people? Does it stimulate them to study harder in order to overcome the racial handicap? If possible, cite cases.
3. To what extent, in your opinion, does the handicap of an imperfect knowledge of English tend to isolate the Oriental pupils?
4. Do the more "Americanized" pupils make better students, or do you notice any difference in this respect? What about discipline?

III. Conflicts

The native dispositions and impulses of children do not fit them to live in society. They have to learn by experience what they must and must not do. This inevitably involves them in more or less conflict with a more or less arbitrary existing social order.

The children of immigrants and particularly of Asiatics, because these parents do not speak our language and do not know our customs, are presumably less prepared than the children of the native-born to meet the demands of our society. It is interesting and important, therefore, to study the nature and origin of such difficulties.

1. Are children of Asiatic parents more difficult, or less, to control than children of native white parents? In either case how, based on your experience, could you explain the facts?
2. Do you know cases of children of Asiatic parentage who have given evidence of markedly different moral standards from the white children with whom they associated? Was their conduct such as to excite the attention, or the indignation, of their white playmates? Cite cases where possible.
3. Can you give instances illustrating the sort of problems in discipline peculiar to children of Asiatic parentage?
4. What sort of conflicts arise between children of Asiatic parentage and those of American parentage? Give illustrations.
5. What do you know of the mental conflicts of children of Oriental parents? Are there difficulties in respect to these conflicts, between those who speak English fluently and those who speak imperfectly?
6. Are children reared in Asia likely to be disorderly, in unexpected and unusual ways, or do their delinquencies fall into the ordinary and conventional categories with which we are familiar?

7. Do you know cases of Japanese or Chinese children who have gone back to Japan or China to study, and afterwards returned to the United States, or who were in school in the Orient before coming to America? If so, what differences did you observe in their attitude and general behavior after their return? In what ways did they differ from Oriental children who remained in the United States?

IV. Accommodation

Accommodation in the sense here used is the process by which an individual learns to accommodate himself to the social and economic order in which he lives. His own success and the character of his relations to his neighbors and the community all depend upon his ability to make the necessary accommodations. If a pupil is getting on well in school and does not have more than the usual difficulties with his fellow students, this would be regarded as a case of successful accommodation.

1. What is the largest family you know among the Asiatic groups? Number of children? How, on the whole, did the children of this family turn out?
2. Do you know cases in which children of Asiatic parentage have been signally honored by their schoolmates?
3. Have you known many Oriental children who have required the attention of the probation officer, attendance officers, or the police? Have you known any sent to reform schools?
4. To what extent are children of Asiatic parentage accepted by their schoolmates outside of the school environment?
5. What proportion of children of Asiatic parentage that graduated from your school go to college?
6. Do you know in specific cases what occupations Japanese and Chinese students enter?

7. Do such graduates have special difficulty in finding positions suited to their training and ability?
8. Do you know of conspicuous cases of success or failure among children of Asiatic parents after leaving school?
9. Do children of Asiatic parentage display any special interest in American history or American politics or social problems?
10. What, if any, social or political problems are these children interested in? Are they interested in race problems? If so, how far is it a topic of discussion or conversation among them?

V. Education

1. What proportion of your class is Oriental?
2. How do they compare in age with the other foreign born in your class? With the native white?
3. What studies do the Orientals do best? Least well? Is there any difference here in the Chinese and Japanese?

The methods by which immigrant children become adjusted is interesting because here are racial accommodations taking place on their easiest levels. Here also are fine hopes blasted. Here the problems of assimilation arise at their most urgent points.

54. I have secured fine ideas of America at school and would like to become American citizen. Lincoln and Washington are my favorite Americans. My parents don't understand me and think I act strange. I have two true American friends, but of late have been made to feel so uncomfortable by some other Americans for no reason that I see. Sometimes America hits me between the eyes, and I feel she is materialistic.*

* Race Relations Survey.

Problems do not arise in the lower grades except as older immigrant children are thrown in with young American children. In the higher grades, especially in the junior high schools, a new set of problems arise, namely, adverse parental attitudes.

55. The pupils elected as president of our student group (of a junior high school with 1500 pupils) a Japanese boy whom every one seemed to like, whose school record was unusually high, and who apparently was of outstanding ability. He was elected overwhelmingly by the pupils.

Within a few days pupils began to protest against the Japanese boy being president. Shortly a recall was started. Upon investigation it was found that the Japanese boy had done nothing to deserve this outburst of feeling against him, but that the parents of many of the pupils were "up in arms" against having their children led by a "Jap." They threatened to take their children out of school. The pupils' feelings against their Japanese president rose higher and higher. Rather than to have an unjust recall operate, the student body government was disbanded for the time being.⁶

Another type of problem is due to the tendency of some immigrant children to become "forward," "brazen," "all-important," and boastful when they achieve success. This attitude attracts undue and unfavorable attention to themselves. At once they become the target of epithets, and the conflict spirit rises, ending perhaps in a local clash.

⁶ Race Relations Survey.

III. Racial Intermarriage Histories

A third special type of life history has grown out of the study of interracial marriages, for these lead to significant problems and accommodations. An intermarriage history is more complicated, in a way, than any of the types already considered, for its unit is not one person but at least two, a husband and wife possessing different sets of culture, and usually a number of children, representing in their lives peculiar conflicts and accommodations growing out of the impact of different paternal and material heritages and also out of the impact of an unusual and often disapproved marriage and family life with the surrounding social life. The racial intermarriage history deals with an exceedingly complicated set of plural relationships inextricably interwoven, frequently little understood by the main parties concerned, and viewed with gross disfavor by the persons with whom the main parties daily come in contact.

Document VI as worked out by Dr. Park deals with hybridization and the resulting conflict and accommodation of cultures. The obtaining of biological data on hybridization is especially difficult. Whether intermarriage between members of races markedly different is desirable is not yet determined biologically. Our problem concerns itself with the social results of such intermarriages. Here the situation often becomes that of the hybrid being more or less repudiated by both parental racial groups.

Document VI

RACIAL INTERMARRIAGE QUESTIONNAIRE

It is desirable that each case of intermarriage be set down as an independent document or story, with stress laid on those aspects of the situation that seem to have significance. Though it is important to get as many stories of intermarriage as possible, the information that has been obtained through personal knowledge of the individuals concerned is likely to be more valuable than information less directly obtained. The more detail and intimacy such a document has, the more revealing it will be.

The following questions are not set down so that they may be answered, but merely that they may suggest some of the aspects under which interracial marriage may be considered. It is probable that in the course of investigation and further study certain other aspects of intermarriage will prove to be more important than those set down here.

A. On Interracial Marriage

1. Of what height and coloring is the American woman married to an Oriental?
 - (a) Is it a type closely approximating that of the Oriental women?
2. What kind of Oriental man does the American woman marry?
 - (a) Is he American in appearance?
 - (b) What seems to be the basis of the physical attraction?
3. Are the American women who have married Orientals wholesome and conventional people?
 - (a) Do any of them belong to marked psychological types, the romantic, the neurotic, etc.?
 - (b) In case they are women of a marked type, did the isolation caused by their marriage, which placed them outside of the usual kind of social competition, make life easier and more satisfactory to them?

4. Are the Oriental men who have married American women of a gay and open disposition or are they steady and reserved?
5. In the cases where an American woman has married an Oriental man, did she belong by birth and circumstance to relatively the same economic and social class as he, and was her status raised or lowered by her marriage?
 - (a) How did her family react to the news that she was going to marry an Oriental? Did their feelings alter with time? Do they talk about it with their friends?
 - (b) How do her brothers and the men of her acquaintance regard her? Do her women friends think her marriage is unfortunate or romantic?
 - (c) How large is the circle of her acquaintance? Is it smaller than before her marriage? In case it is smaller has this affected her happiness? How does she show it? Pride, defensive self-sufficiency?
 - (d) Does her circle of acquaintances include both Americans and Orientals? Are her friends and acquaintances people of the same class and cultural backgrounds as her own?
6. What kind of social life does the Oriental have who is married to an American woman?
 - (a) How is the Oriental affected, if at all, in his business relations with Americans who know of his marriage?
 - (b) Do his countrymen consider that he has raised or lowered his status by marrying an American woman? Does their judgment about that depend upon the social status and personal charm of the woman he married?
 - (c) Do they ask him to their homes as readily as they otherwise would? Do they ask his wife? Do they treat him with any reserve or suspicion?
 - (d) Does the Oriental bring his Oriental friends to his home? Does he bring his American friends? To what extent do the friends of the husband and wife mix?
7. In general, do these couples regard their marriage as successful?

(a) Are there any cases in which Orientals are said to have gone insane because of the conflicts that arose out of their loneliness, homesickness, and their relations with American women, which were a result of their enforced isolation in the American community?

(b) In case the Oriental marries an American woman, is his family life stabilized by this same isolation?

(c) If the marriage seems to be a happy and successful one, on what elements in the personalities of the husband and wife, and what elements in their situation does this success depend?

B. On the Child of Mixed Parentage

1. Could any of these children pass for Americans?

(a) If not, what physical characteristics do they possess that are a result of their Asiatic blood?

2. Do these children have any bad traits that either Oriental or white children do not have to the same extent? Sensitivity, etc.?

(b) Do they often get into trouble?

(c) What occupations do they engage in upon leaving school?

3. In how many different kinds of communities has the child of mixed blood lived, and how did these different experiences affect him?

(a) Has he lived for the most part in —

1. An American community?

2. An Oriental community?

3. A mixed community?

(b) Were his playmates and friends, children of white, Oriental, or mixed blood?

(c) Is there any disposition on the part of the child of mixed blood to hold aloof from the children of both racial groups? In case this tendency exists, does it manifest itself more strikingly when the child's family lives in —

1. An American community?

2. An Oriental community?

3. A mixed community?

4. What mental conflicts does the child of mixed parentage have?
 - (a) What is the attitude of the child toward its parents?
5. How is the child of mixed parentage accepted by the American group?
 - (a) Is he treated as any other child would be by the members of his mother's family? Is the child of unusual intelligence and charm accepted without any perceptible reservations by its American kin?
 - (b) In case the child of mixed parentage does not feel that he is wholly acceptable to the white American group, how early and under what circumstances did he become aware of this? Playing with the neighborhood children, school, dances, teasing?
6. How is the child of mixed parentage accepted in the Oriental group?
 - (a) Is he taught Chinese or Japanese, or do his parents want him to be as American as possible?
 - (b) To what extent does he seek acquaintances and friends among his father's friends?
7. Are there any special friendships, or gang, or clubs, among young people of mixed blood?
 - (a) Does the child of mixed Oriental and American parentage ever marry other children of mixed blood parentage, e. g., the Indian half-breed?
 - (b) Does he ever intermarry with other peoples of sallow or swarthy complexion, e. g., the Spaniard, Portuguese, Armenian, or Syrian, or with any of the other Mediterranean peoples?
 - (c) Is there any difference in the behavior of the sexes in this respect?
 - (d) Does the man of mixed blood ever prefer not to marry at all, in order to evade the fixing of his status by attaching himself definitely through marriage to either racial group?

*C. On the Oriental
Who Belongs to Different Generations*

That thing that would give the best insight into the life and mental conflicts of a child of mixed parentage would be the complete history of such an individual. It would probably reveal much if one could get the complete history of any single Oriental, whether of mixed blood or not.

A body of intimate biographical material of this kind might afford us a reasonably accurate picture of what America looks like to the Oriental who has for any considerable length of time made America his living place. It would also serve to show the process by which an Oriental, living in this country a more or less isolated existence succeeds finally, perhaps unconsciously, in living himself into American life.

It would be very desirable to get biographical or autobiographical documents on —

1. First Generation Orientals
 - (a) Born in the Orient
2. Second Generation Orientals
 - (b) Born in the United States of foreign-born parents
3. The Mixed Blood Generation
 - (c) Born in the United States of mixed white and Oriental parentage

VI Conclusions

This attempt to indicate what might prove interesting about racial intermarriage is not intended to limit our investigation or to prejudge facts. It is intended rather to be tentative, suggestive, and open to suggestions and corrections, *especially by facts* that it may call forth.

Since *opinions about the Oriental* eventually lead back to some rather instinctive and deep-seated attitudes about intermarriage, the *facts* have a very real interest. Any public policy that is likely to be permanently satisfactory must reckon with these facts.

Intermarriages bring out *conflicts* continuously, not only between the husband and wife, but between their respective racial friends, or fundamentally, of course, between their respective cultures.

56. When I (of European immigrant parentage) used to go out with my husband (Japanese) to meet with his fellow countrymen at the beach or a picnic, they ignore me entirely, and my husband felt bad about it. We don't go to see his racial friends any more.

My parents won't see me because I married a Japanese. My father was furious and my stepmother sided with him. So I get no understanding. My husband and I go out by ourselves. He treats me well and we are happy even though we have left off seeing his people and have been cut off by my father. With our children my husband spends much time.

Yes, we disagree sometimes but not so much so, if he could go to his folks and I to mine. We try hard to put up with each other and look to each other for most of our associations. A neighbor woman (American) comes in once in a while and visits and gives advice concerning the children.⁷

57. The usual, "Isn't it too bad," "What a pity," "You'd think she'd more sense," "I don't understand what she sees in that swarthy buffoon," "Well, she needn't think that I shall even entertain her in my home," made the rounds of comment.⁸

To the extent that the *hybrid* situation is pronounced, it continues and builds up an *accommodated* type of culture. The children are growing up, and hence the opportunity is not that of studying a hybrid culture already developed but such cultures actually in the process of evolution.

⁷ Race Relations Survey.

⁸ *Ibid.*

58. The mother (English), cognizant of the peculiar little swagger in the gait of the Japanese (the father is Japanese), had the children take lessons in dancing so as to make them graceful and if possible avoid the "gait characteristic." Note also should be taken of the fact that it is the emphasis of the mother that secured instruction in the Japanese language for the children. . . . These parents live in and for their children to a very consecrated and absorbent degree.

They (the children) are not blind to the fact that sometimes they are snubbed, but then it is noticed by them that the colored children are thus treated even more often than the Japanese, and besides, American whites as children snub each other. The emphasis by the parents upon personal accomplishments has served as a reinforcement in the minds of these youngsters so that though American children sometimes mistreat them from the racial prejudicial standpoint, they have observed that these very snubbers come to the snubbed imploring them to help out in the prosecution of whatever program the school activities dictate.

The heart-tug years are still ahead for that little family and will arrive when the offspring come in more personal contact and conflict in the social fabric of our commonwealth. Yet it must be said that the parents have done just about all that is humanly possible to prepare the children for that conflict which eventually must come.⁹

The American education system is working to "Americanize" the hybrid children; race prejudices are blocking and complicating the processes: the result is often loss of faith in things American, democratic, Christian, and even human. The hybrid children, like other children, either of Oriental parents in this country or of American parents, respond easily as a rule to American ways and teachings. Race prejudice on the part of Americans defeats the edu-

⁹ Race Relations Survey.

cational work of the schools and as a result the hybrid children find themselves out of touch with Oriental culture and without confidence in American culture.

59. I thought I was American. I had American ideals, would fight for America, loved Washington and Lincoln. Then in high school I found myself called Jap, looked down on, ostracized. I said I did not know Japan, could not speak the language, and knew no Japanese history or heroes. But I was repeatedly told I was not American, could not be American, would not vote. I am heart sick. I am not Japanese and am not allowed to be American. Can you tell me what I am?¹⁰

One of the difficulties of getting racial intermarriage data is the extreme sensitiveness of the parents. They have been the objects of special comment, of unpleasant remarks, of isolation, so much that the whole subject of intermarriage is often taboo to them.

IV. Life Histories of "Problem Boys."

A special life-history questionnaire was worked out in the Boys' Work Survey. Document VII, "The Social History of a Boy," gives an additional illustration of how the "Life History as a Social Document" may be modified to meet each new research situation as it arises. Document VII was used with success with older boys and young men. Boys' leaders and teachers who have the confidence of

¹⁰ Race Relations Survey.

older boys and young men have given them "The Social History of a Boy" and received twenty to forty page documents in return. Something over one hundred and fifty extensive life histories were secured for the Boys' Work Survey. Many of these were from "problem boys," while so-called "normal boys" usually reported on serious conflicts which they had experienced. All boys are problem boys at times and in different ways.

The accounts given by normal boys of their conflicts, even grave ones, under constructive environmental influences, may be settled. These "Social Histories of a Boy" give pictures of a boys' world, both of the boy who is continually getting into trouble, and of the boy whose problems are solved before serious results ensue. The study of an organized and self-controlled boy illustrates important processes for the understanding of problem boys.

Document VII

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF A BOY

By a social history of a boy is meant an account of his conflicts and accommodations within the home, neighborhood, school, church, play and occupational activities, and of the resulting problems as he sees them. A social history is a social-psychological picture of one's world, of one's human associations as one sees them himself.

Social histories of boys are valuable to the extent that they give an insight into the processes of the development of a boy, the nature of his social contacts, the conflicts which he experiences, and the accommodations that he makes. These

documents are important insofar as they throw light on the following factors: (The following outline is to be used as a guide by the interviewer of boys, who should get its main points well in mind before the interview is begun.)

(1) *Heritage*. What was the boy's social heritage? What were the traditions of his parents? Their attitude toward religion, toward racial and national values, toward education, toward industrial activities? What is their type of family life? What was their equipment for training boys, including their handicaps and advantages? What difficulties occurred within the home in matters of adjustments between parents? What were their hopes and ambitions for this particular boy?

What brothers and sisters did he have? What have been their outstanding traits? Their influences upon his life?

What musical and artistic tendencies has he?

His age, birthplace, race?

(2) *Early Life*. What was the nature of his earliest distinctive tendencies? The trend of his earliest interests and habits? His earliest conflicts? The first handicaps that he brought on himself? What were the earliest fears that he can recall, and his earliest joys? How were his earliest conflicts settled?

(3) *Social Contacts*. Which parent seems to understand him best? Which parent is he most like? What routine work does he do at home? How far does he and his parents associate in their amusements? If he lost his parents what would he do? What books, outside of school books, did he read? What magazines? What did he read that he liked most?

Who are his chums? Describe their likes and dislikes. Has any of them gotten into trouble and in what ways? Does he bring his "pals" into the home?

How often does he go to motion picture shows, to public dance halls, and to pool halls?

What girls has he known well? How intimate has been his friendship with them? What are his parents' attitudes toward the one or ones he likes best? What are their likes

and dislikes? What does he do in his leisure time; how much leisure does he have and during what hours of the day? With whom does he come in contact at these times?

To what organizations, such as a boys' club, a gang, a church club or class has he belonged? What was the nature of the activities of each? Has he been a member of a Sunday School, of the Boy Scouts, of any similar organizations? Has he dropped out of any of these? Under what conditions? Does he smoke cigarettes? Why? or why not? His parents' attitude?

In what ways does he get along well at school? In what ways poorly? His parents' attitude?

Has he been a leader in any of these clubs? In what ways did he lead well, and in what did he fail, and for what reasons?

(4) *Conflicts and Accommodations.* What difficulties has he had in the home, with either parent, of long-standing nature? What conflicts has he had with other members of his family and what has happened?

What outstanding difficulties has he had with his playmates? Any fights he remembers? Have him describe the history of any boyhood feud that he was a part of for any length of time.

Did he have any difficulties with the older people of the neighborhood? With the parents of other children?

Under what conditions does he remember most distinctly of being punished? What activities does he seem to conceal from his parents? Is the home atmosphere one of peace or conflict? Of economic pressure?

What conflicts has he had at school, with any teachers, principals, truant officers, or with other boys at school?

Did he ever run away from home or school? Why and what were the reactions?

Has he a car? Any problems? His parents' attitude toward his use of it? What picture shows does he like best? Least?

Did he ever "swipe" anything, and if so under what conditions? Did he ever get "pinched"? His experiences in this

connection? Ever been in jail? Experiences. Ever been on probation, either in school or in connection with the Juvenile Court? Experiences.

Has there been any breaking off of love affairs? What day dreams has he had? Has he had any troublesome dreams? Has he ever had imaginary companions?

In what ways does he feel that he has been treated most unjustly? Has he ever felt hampered, and wanted to upset things generally? What important questions does he decide for himself? How does he get increased independence?

In what ways does he feel that he has been most misunderstood? By whom, and under what conditions? Any disagreements with his parents regarding money, clothes, the automobile, girls, chums? What things does he ask permission to do?

Under what conditions has he experienced "pangs of conscience"? Does he remember feeling distinctly sorry for something?

Has he ever had any religious problems or conflicts or "been converted"?

Has he ever worked for wages? Has he ever wanted money and couldn't get it? Has he ever saved and why? What kinds of work does he like best, and what least?

(5) *Philosophy of Life*. What was his first or earliest choice of a vocation, and what changes have occurred along this line? What are his greatest ambitions today? His occupational expectations? Does he have any money-making ambitions, and what are his reactions to making money and becoming rich? What is his life aim? Do parents agree with it?

What are his religious beliefs? Does he believe that one political party is better than another? Does he believe in racial equality? Is he interested in more than one race or nation? What does he consider to be the leading public questions of the day? Does he have any ideas of social responsibility and social service and if so, how did they arise?

If he could have one wish above all others granted, what would it be?

One of the problems in studying boys' centers is boys' gangs, and hence in the Boys' Work Survey a social history questionnaire of a goys' gang was prepared (Document VII). By the personal interview method it is possible to obtain a gang's natural history, providing one can locate a boy who is no longer a member but who has kept in touch with the gang from time to time. A boy who has been "kicked out" of a gang will often give a great deal of information that may be investigated further and may reveal important data. The most authentic way to obtain a gang's history is to drift into one and get acquainted with some of the members. The active member is exceedingly suspicious of all "outsiders," for he has been repeatedly trailed by the police, plainclothes men, and others.¹¹

60. One night I got on my motor and had it break down in the neighborhood where the "gang" ranged. I "monkeyed" with the motor in the semi-darkness. Before long the fellows came around and began to give me advice which I took good-naturedly and bantering with them I soon got invited to join them.¹²

Document VIII

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF A BOYS' GANG

The social history of a boys' gang refers to its origin in the desires of the boy and in the stimuli or the lack of stimuli in the social environment, to the description of the dominant

¹¹ See "The Social World of the Boys' Gang," by F. M. Thrasher, announced for early publication in the *Journal of Applied Sociology*. F. M. Thrasher has made an extensive study of boys' gangs in Chicago.

¹² Boys Work Survey.

ing desires of its personnel, of the conflicts as a group with other social institutions. Data of the following kinds are useful:

(1) *Ecological*. What are the hang-outs of the gang? Addresses of the homes of the members.

General nature and range of activities of the gang?

The geography of the community under which the gang ranges? Topography, railroad tracks, industrial properties, manufacturing establishments, types of stores? A map carefully drawn would be valuable.

Locate the moving picture shows, poolrooms, dance hall, cabarets, soft-drink establishments, penny arcades, in the neighborhood which serve as a center of the gang's activities.

Locate the parks, playgrounds, athletic clubs.

Locate the schools, libraries, settlements, churches, missions.

What are the types of houses, the degree of sanitation?

What is the distribution of races?

(2) *Personnel*. Get as complete a social history as possible of each of the ring-leaders of the gang throughout its history and of any members who have played a peculiar or significant rôle. (Use "The Social History of a Boy.")

(3) *Origins*. Date of the club's earliest known activities, and dates of all outstanding experiences of the club as such; for example, its clashes with other gangs, with the police, or its marauding expeditions.

What is the time of the gang's regular meetings, and also of its irregular meetings? What are the main places of meetings? What main changes in personnel have occurred in the history of the gang? How far are its present principles the same as at the outset? Under what conditions have changes in personnel and principles occurred?

(4) *Organization*. What is the basis of membership? What written laws? What unwritten rules, agreements, understandings?

Does the gang have a constitution, by-laws, a charter?

What property does it possess, equipment, paraphernalia? What words, signs, symbols, whistles, are characteristic of it?

Does it exist in the form of a secret fraternity in connection with the schools? If so, what conflicts has it had with the school? What is the attitude of the parents of the members toward it, and of the teachers and principals toward it?

(5) *Group Activities and Conflicts.* What are the activities within the group, such as fighting, "chewing the rag," gambling, drinking, smoking cigarettes, sex practices?

What conflicts with other groups has it had? With other gangs? With truant officers and the police? With neighborhood people or with storekeepers?

What mischievous activities characterize it? What malicious delinquency? Stealing? Assaults? Destruction of property, trespassing, pickpocketing?

Who has dropped out of the gang? Under what conditions? What new interests have arisen?

6. *Philosophy.* How do the members account for their destructive activities as a gang? What are their attitudes regarding good citizenship? What are their reactions to organized religion? What sense of respect do they have toward their respective homes? Toward establishing homes of their own? Toward having money? Toward becoming community leaders?

Since the key persons in welfare agencies are the leaders, the Boy's Work Survey prepared Document IX as a means of getting better acquainted with them. The retroactive effect upon the leader was obvious. The data, both in regard to inadequate training, unsatisfactory attitudes, incomplete vision, speak louder than words. The ordinary leader in writing out a statement regarding himself

puts in a large number of regrets concerning his lack of training, all of which become data, not of negative but of positive value in working out standards for leaders.

Document IX

THE BOYS' WORK LEADER

The leader's experiences are derived partly from first hand contacts with boys and partly from association with other leaders of boys. His strength arises from being able to make comparisons of the experiences of leaders of boys, and of boys themselves.

(1) *Problems.* What are the main problems of working with boys as the leader sees them? What are the main types of problem boys?

What outstanding difficulties does his agency have in working with boys? What handicaps, and what needs?

(2) *Activities.* What are the activities of his agency for boys? The underlying theory of these? The extent of the work done and at what places? How many boys are given training, of what kinds, and for how many hours per week?

How many leaders of boys does he direct? What is the training of each of these leaders and of himself? The academic training? The experience training? Which is the better, and why; the poorer, and why?

How far does his agency cooperate with the parents of boys? With schools? With the neighborhood?

(3) *Needs.* What are the greatest needs of his agency in helping boys? By way of equipment? By way of new and better leaders? What training does its leaders need which they do not possess? What are the main needs of the boys in the neighborhood where his agency is located?

(4) *Philosophy*. Are social conditions and influences among boys in his community growing better or not?

Does he view the increasing freedom assumed by youth as wholly good? The increasing disrespect for the peace and for authority as wholly bad? His reactions to the youth movement?

What changes has he undergone in his theory about boys' work? Why? How did he get interested in boys' work? In his present line of boys' work? How long does he expect to stay in boys' work? What are the biggest problems in his work as he sees it?

The social history of a social institution is the history of the aspirations and activities of many persons, of some as leaders, and of many as followers. Like a person it has an ecological history and cultural backgrounds; it is in conflict with other institutions; it is undergoing transformation and social assimilation. Its history is found best of all in the personal experiences of all whose lives have gone into its making.

Since boys' welfare agencies are the particular institutions which have been developing to help boys solve their problems when the home proves inadequate, the Boys' Work Survey prepared a social history of a boys' welfare agency (Document X). As a rule the agency is sensitive of its shortcomings and hence confidential relations need to be established. The weaknesses in these agencies have been discussed with the executives and others interested rather than made a matter of public comment. An executive who writes out one of these social histories usually experiences wholesome reactions that he had not thought of before.

Document X

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF A BOYS' WELFARE AGENCY

The natural history of a Boys' Welfare Agency, or of that part of any institution, such as a church or a school which has a boys' work program, is valuable insofar as it gives insight into the processes by which boys and their problems are treated. We need to know the following things:

(1) *Heritage*. What is the social heritage of the agency or of that division of it dealing with boys? For what purpose was it founded? What underlying principles of organization does it have?

Who are its main sponsors and how is it financed? List contributors, directors, and study interesting points in minutes of board of directors. What influences enter at this point? What crises in its history have occurred and what changes in policy and administration have taken place?

(2) *Work*. What are its main activities for boys? What are the addresses of all the places where work under its auspices is conducted? What changes in its program of activities have occurred? In what way has its work dwindled? How many boys are meeting under its direction? How many hours per week does it give to each and in what kind of work? List of boy members, classified, with addresses.

What city, state, and other ordinances or laws govern its activities? What difficulties has it had as an organization? What emphasis is placed on psychiatry? Psychology? Medical examination? Social work methods? Sociology? What does it do in the training of leaders in boys' work, together with the addresses of each. Which have been especially successful, and in what ways? What preparation does each make for his daily work? What systematic training has each had?

Why is each leader interested in his work? What does he like best about it, and what things does he dislike? If he had a considerable sum of money to expend in behalf of boys in the given district, how would he spend it?

(4) *Contacts and Conflicts.* What are its activities with other boys' organizations? With schools, churches, social agencies?

What neighborhood problems has the agency helped to solve?

Are there any boys' gangs or near-gangs in the agency's neighborhood? For what reasons; and if not, for what reasons? If there are, get an account of the agency's successes and failures in dealing with gangs.

What groups and organizations are hostile to the agency, and for what reasons? Who has criticized it and why?

(5) *Philosophy.* What is the agency's notion concerning the freedom of boys? Concerning the discipline of boys, and methods of controlling boys? What is its attitude toward a scientific education? Toward a Boy Guidance Clinic, toward psychiatry, scientific social work, and what has it done by way of social research relating to boys?

(6) *Personal Experiences.* Interview leaders within the agency to find out what they consider to be their main problems. Narrate at length and in detail.

Interview some of the people in the neighborhood where its work is conducted, such as parents and others, as to what they like and what they object to in relation to boys' work, and get as full accounts as possible.

Interview boys within the agency and get a description of their experiences and reactions thereto as members of the agency.

Interview boys who have been members but have become dissatisfied and have dropped out and get a description of their experiences.

If the agency has had any "problem boys," get the natural history of each of these.

If the agency has had any boys who are, or have been members of boys' gangs, or near-gangs, get the natural history of any such gang.

One more document (XI) from the Boys' Work Survey will be introduced, namely, on "The Boy and the Church." The attempt is to get at the boys' own reactions to an established social institution essaying, as a part of its work, to mold the character and conduct of boys. If institutions are to cease to impose adult-made and tradition-made programs upon youth, some way must be found to secure the substantial reactions of boys themselves regarding the needs which social institutions are expected to meet.

Document XI

THE BOY AND THE CHURCH

The conflicts and accommodations that a boy undergoes in his religious reactions are related both to his philosophy of life and to his daily conduct. Considerable light on his underlying attitudes of life can be secured through an analysis of his religious experiences and reactions.

(1) *Heritage and Contacts.* What were the religious backgrounds and beliefs of each of his parents? Of other relatives, such as a grandparent, uncle or aunt, who took an interest in him? In what ways were these beliefs peculiar or unusual? Were there many religious differences or acrimonious disputes in the boy's home? Did he have any brothers or sisters who influenced him and how, religiously? Who have been his playmates and chums and what have been their religious attitudes?

(2) *Conflicts and Accommodations.* What were the boy's earliest reactions to religion? What were the nature of his earliest religious beliefs and practices? Has he ever believed in prayer? The nature of his earliest prayers? Under what conditions? For protection? Because of any fears?

What have been his unfavorable reactions to religion? In connection with what experiences?

Has he ever been to Sunday School or its equivalent? When did he start and why? What did he like best, and dislike most? What does he say are the most significant things that he has learned in Sunday School or Church? Did he go because other boys and girls went?

What have been his church habits regarding attendance and participation? Did he ever like to go to church and why? What has he disliked most about church? What offices has he held in any department of the church, and with what success in each instance?

Have his religious experiences been strongly emotional in any way? Has he ever been "converted" and with what results?

Has he ever lost interest in Sunday School or church? Under what conditions? Have him describe these circumstances in full.

(4) *Philosophy*. Does he believe it pays to be religious? To belong to a church? Is religion a personal value to him? Why? Why not?

Have him describe in full and extensively the changes he would make in religious exercises, so that they might be ideal from his point of view. What religious problems have bothered him most? Which has he settled and by what processes?

What religious problems does he have that remain unsettled?

V. Life History of the Family

An important life history type that is being developed by J. L. Dufлот¹³ is that which deals with the organized family. It treats, not of one out of

¹³ Begun by Mr. Dufлот under the direction of E. W. Burgess and E. F. Young.

every six families which has ended in divorce and disorganization, but with the other five. It seeks "to discover the nature of the processes by which the other five families have succeeded in maintaining their unity and in inducting their members into a successful adjustment with society's requirements."¹⁴ There are special difficulties because so much of the worth while materials seem ultra-personal, but these are treated as the physician treats "the private affairs of family health," namely, with absolute privacy. An extensive outline for the writer of a family life history has been worked out in the form of questions which follow these classifications:

1. Family Chronology
2. Family Romances
3. Family Economies
4. Household Habits
5. Family Education
6. The Family and the Neighborhood
7. Family Occasions, Home Ties, Traditions
8. Critical Situations

One of the interesting outcomes of the use of the life history questionnaire has been its value in sociology classes. The "Social History of a Boy" has been used to advantage in Introductory Sociology classes. They have set pupils to thinking as nothing else in these classes has done.

¹⁴ From manuscript by J. L. Dufлот.

61. The task of recalling personal history is a very interesting and, I am sure, profitable assignment. It brings out the fact that the real college course is the one which besides reviewing the known, makes the student think for himself. Much thought is necessary for a social history and it is hoped that the reader of this paper will derive as much benefit in reading as I have had in writing "The Social History of a Boy."¹⁵

¹⁵ Boys' Work Survey.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DIARY AND THE LETTER

I. The Diary

ONE OF THE most valuable human documents is the diary, providing it is "kept" properly. If it records daily a person's important and new social contacts, his conflicts, and accommodations, it far surpasses the life history. It does not rely on memory but writes history "as it happens," day by day. It states what has occurred "of moment at the moment" and makes comments which reveal personal reactions.¹

To secure an immigrant's diary of the sort indicated requires time and patience. To get the immigrant sufficiently interested is enough, for the simpler and more naïve it is, the better does it reflect elemental processes. But since it requires literacy and some regularity of habit in writing it is difficult to procure. To get it for even a five year period makes impossible an extensive use of the diary in a Survey of six months' or a year's duration. Processes, however, have been set in motion in the Race

¹ See assignment 3, *Field Studies in Americanization*, University of California Extension Division, "Diaries as Human Documents," by R. E. Park.

Relations Survey whereby several diaries by Oriental immigrants may be expected in due season, and make possible the influx of significant materials in the future. After the diary has once been started in motion, however, it may be tapped at any time, but the longer it runs the better it becomes for the study of human attitudes.

The diary is also a convenient form in which an American, if he will, can record his own observations upon and reactions to the immigrant as he meets him.² It enables an American to set down in a systematic way his casual observations regarding immigrants and "strangers." It is important "to note down anything that seems to raise a question or constitute a pertinent comment upon the problems and the peoples" that are being studied. "Anything that has human interest; anything that may be regarded as news in our field; any personal experience with immigrants that one would be likely to record in a personal letter may turn out to be significant and should be recorded."

The Race Relations Survey has stimulated the keeping of diaries by American school teachers. As assignments in a correspondence course they produced sufficient interesting materials to justify the method amply. Diaries kept according to social research rules constitute the base sources of life history materials.

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

62. April 16, 1924. I took my Mexican girls to —— to-night for a party. These are Americanized Mexican girls. . . . I don't quite like the result.

The group is quite different from the shy-eyed little Mexican girls straight from the line.

They all sing the latest jazz, roll their socks (——'s bright red garters are always showing), play baseball and jazz around loudly and pleasantly. . . .

We played "Wink" and it was amusing to watch the consternation of the Mexican boys, most of them just in this country a few months. They are unused to such carefree manners.

B——was nearly overcome with embarrassment when he was "it" and had to wink at some of the muchachos.

April 21. E—— told me that yesterday at the ball game there was a renewal of the fighting between the colored and the Mexicans. Some of the boys, it seems, even started for home to get their guns. . . .

P——, the colored principal of the East side school, so J—— said, spent most of the morning talking to the high school on the subject. . . .

The women believe most of the trouble comes from the children and loafing half-grown boys, who should be in school. . . . Most of them are children of the transient Mexican workers.³

Housekeepers may also collect much valuable materials regarding racial contacts. At first it may seem to be of a miscellaneous nature, but when extensive it reveals interesting points.

63. October 16. I bought a watermelon today of the wife of the keeper of the Japanese vegetable store, and she laughed heartily, the first time in all my dealings for two years at that store. I thought of her as stolid, and of other

³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Japanese in the same way. But today I had the surprise of my life when she laughed heartily and long. This is what I innocently said to her: "You can always pick out a nice ripe watermelon for me every time, can't you?" It must have been about the first compliment she had ever received from a white person.

October 21. I started away from the Japanese vegetable store and heard someone running after me. It was the Japanese man, holding up one of my packages that I had carelessly laid down in his store. He didn't say a word, but just smiled and smiled. That was all I did too, I guess, but I still feel like smiling. It made me feel good all over.⁴

⁴ Race Relations Survey.

Dependable diaries of boys, especially problem boys, are practically out of the question, but boys' leaders, teachers, social workers may keep diaries of boys, giving an account of boys' attitudes together with changes in these, and of the conditions under which these changes occur. In this way data about boys of great importance may be obtained.

64. M—— yelled "Order," and proceeded to hit two boys over the head with a chair. He then shouted: "If you guys don't keep still, I'll knock your blocks off."

"We're going to have a club, but if we have a club, we have to have an 'organizition.' If we have an 'organizition,' we have to have a 'prisidint.' All youse guys that want me for "prisidint," vote for me, and all that want that guy (pointing to another boy and speaking with great scorn), vote for him. All that want that other guy (pointing scornfully to another boy), vote for him. We'll vote now." M—— was elected, but because he himself had nominated two other boys who were not his particular friends, and thus had divided the opposition, and insured his own election.⁵

⁵ Boys' Work Survey.

II. The Letter

A series of letters written by an immigrant regarding his experiences in a new country are almost as good as a diary and less difficult to obtain. The use by Thomas and Znaniecki of over 15,000 immigrant letters in the preparation of their five volume work on *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*⁶ illustrates some of the possibilities. In a letter to a friend, the immigrant is writing more or less intimately, not to an audience but to one person. In it are likely to be found the immigrant's uncensored comment on our customs and habits of life.

65. These documents, in turn, exhibit as no formal statement of them could, the standards and values around which the life of the immigrant has been consciously or unconsciously organized. It exhibits, not infrequently the rude shock which these standards and the whole life organization of the immigrant suffers in the American environment.⁷

In America the immigrant meets conditions which make him acutely conscious of himself and of all the differences between himself and his new *milieu*. In his native environment, he has acquired, quite naturally and unconsciously, habits, attitudes and values different from our own. These different attitudes and habits are expressed in dress, in manners, in social ritual, as well as in laws and social institutions.

⁶ Badger, 1919.

⁷ Race Relations Survey.

In his native country all these things are taken for granted, and as long as habits were working smoothly he was no more conscious of them "than a healthy man is conscious of his digestive apparatus." In this country, on the other hand, many, perhaps most, of his social habits do not run smoothly. His attention is called to fundamental racial and cultural differences of which, under other circumstances, he might never have become aware.⁸ In a letter to an intimate relative or friend the immigrant often writes with a freedom that he would not ordinarily do. He gives greater vent to his feelings than he would in a more formal document.

66. They sent me to Angel Island! What do you think of that? It hurt my pride! I felt like a prisoner. My father paid five hundred dollars solid gold for my passage from Singapore to San Francisco. I was first class passenger. It was not right to send me to Angel Island. My mission teacher went with me. It was after four o'clock when we got there. A man said, 'You will have to stay here all night until morning, and then you can see the officer.' I said, 'I will not stay here. I will see the officer *now* — where is he? He knew I was very mad. I wanted to go back to China and *never* come to United States if everybody was mean like that. I went to see the officer. I walked up to him. I did not look pleasant. I was very angry. I looked proud and said, 'I want to know from you why I been sent here! I am not a coolie!' That is what I said.

He made nice speech, said it was law to protect all Chinese girls. But I just look at him. He let me go! But when I remember how I was sent to Angel Island, I don't need jacket! I don't need coat! I am too hot all over!⁹

⁸ R. E. Park, "Field Studies in Americanization," Assignment, 3, p. 2.

⁹ Race Relations Survey.

Letters of native Americans are also valuable. Frequently these are addressed to the editor of a newspaper, or written specifically for publication, and then they may take on an argumentative character as well as disclose opinions rather than attitudes.

67. Editor C——: I have been exceedingly interested and somewhat *amused* at the controversy which has been going on in the newspapers of H——— of late over the Japanese question. What is it all about? Some Christian Japanese want to build a church to worship in. Some other Japanese want to replace the homes they have been living in, with better ones, more in keeping with those of their neighbors. A protest is registered and the newspapers are used to spread the gospel of “intolerance” which is at the root of the world troubles of this day and generation.

The trouble with most of the people who don't feel kindly toward the Japanese, is that they do not understand them. Mrs. R—— and myself traveled in Japan and made a close-up study of the Japanese. They are a very kindly people and their home life is such that the people of any nation might do well to emulate them. If I could only tour one country among the nations of the world I would choose Japan for its interesting history and people. They are by no means an inferior people to any nation on earth. Class for class they stand on as high a plane as any people. No foreigner in Japan would receive the unkind treatment that the Japanese receive in the State of California. Citizens of the United States are permitted to build their churches in Japan and are welcomed. Why should the Japanese not be welcome to build their churches among us, especially when they desire to worship under the form of religion which we ourselves profess?¹⁰

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Then there are newspaper clippings, such as news items, editorials, and so forth, which are meaningful when considered in the light of "first contacts," conflicts, accommodations, or disorganization of "old country" habits.

68. (Editorial) If H—— or any section of H—— wants to get rid of the Japanese, there is just one right and honorable way to do it. And that is to buy them out at a price that will make it worth their while to sell. If the presence of the brown families is so great a detriment to property values as the anti-Japanese leaders claim, then the land owners can well afford to pool their interests in a plan to raise the money to take over the Japanese holdings. The Japanese are strictly within their rights as men and women. If we object to them, the burden of the change is upon us. Every man has a natural, inherent, and unalienable right to a home. No man has a natural, inherent, and unalienable right to profit through the increase in the value of real estate, however welcome such increase may be. If a white man wishes to put his artificial right to a profit against the natural right of the Japanese to a place in which to live, then the white man should be willing to pay the price.¹¹

In the Boys' Work Survey, letters written by boys to persons such as probation officers, teachers, Y. M. C. A. leaders, and Big Brothers were valuable, particularly where the boy has been "getting on" well. The letters desiring adjustments are especially valuable. Letters to parents or others written by boys in trouble are often masterpieces in subterfuge, but even so, are significant in revealing attitudes. The letters of one delinquent boy to another are difficult

¹¹ *Ibid.*

to obtain and often display a spirit of bravado and status-hunting disposition: Not regret for wrong doing, but for getting caught is frequently expressed. At any rate such a letter takes one into "the boys' world."

69. "One of the most forthwithstanding clubs in America was origenated in a dark and oderous dugout.

The first meeting was called to order by the salemn cap. this was held in dugot it was thereafter the favorite meeting hole we had, the entrance to the secret dugout could only be made by a peel climber. It was gained by climbing the highest fork in the tree, sliding down a 50 foot cable then sliding down an old flagpole to the edge of a bluff to the north edge there was a trap door from there he grouped his way in darkness until he came to a dark place."¹²

¹² Boys' Work Survey.

CHAPTER IX

INTERPRETING PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

THE KEYNOTE of the life history and related documents is found in personal experiences. The securing of personal experiences represents the most interesting and fascinating of all methods of social research, because each unique experience brings out some "new" or "different" materials or meanings of materials. They photograph vagrant impulses, rising tides of emotion, habits disorganized and shattered, new organizations of mental activity. They examine what goes on beneath the surface of everyday life, "studying normal people as psychiatry studies abnormal individuals."

A question raised in the Race Relations Survey was: How do you know that personal experiences or the life histories which you are securing are typical or representative? Another question that was raised was: How do you know that the interpretations which are made by one individual, even an individual trained in abstract thinking, are to be depended on as being valid? These questions, however, may be answered by considering closely the nature of experience.

Experience is "concrete, personal, and unique. It does not repeat itself exactly. We never have the same experience twice in exactly the same way. An experience in life is an historical fact; it always has a date and a location and it happens only once."¹

In it a person's attitudes are born, and these largely determine his opinions. Thus, the study of public opinion on any question may be traced back through personal opinions to attitudes and then to experiences or reactions to and interpretation of events. "The experience *contains*, so to speak, both the event and the attitude."² It is important, therefore, to secure accounts of both social situations, and the persons' reaction to these situations as disclosed by his experiences.³ Experiences are first historical facts. When reduced to types they take on new meanings; they are seen as parts of or in relation to whole sections of human experience, and thus secure adequate interpretation.

The mode of procedure in studying attitudes is to collect accounts of personal experiences and to compare them. The comparison of two person's experiences in a given social situation generally shows both similarities and differences. The similarities of a number of experiences in a certain social situation denote types of behavior which as they

¹ R. E. Park, "Experience and Race Relations," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII:18-24.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³ *Ibid.*

become common become understood and thus explain human nature. As we make a wider and more intimate acquaintance with persons outside our own race and class we tend to correct our more naïve estimates of our fellows. Notations of personal experiences are valid because most experiences when analyzed fall into similar classifications. These types repeat themselves so regularly, especially with simple folks, that their very recurrence gives them a certain validity.

70. The sociologist is interested in the particular experience only so far as it enables him to say something about human nature in general, irrespective of any particular time or place. The sociologist classifies the experience and so explains it. ⁴

Variations or deviations from type are especially interesting. They represent unaccounted factors, and hence, become subjects of major attention.

71. The procedure here is just the same as in any of the natural and physical sciences. We explain things by putting them under some general category, classifying them, in short, and then discovering where we can, the reason for the deviation from type. ⁵

To the degree that we can relate a new experience to a behavior-pattern already familiar and understood, we can understand it. If it may not, however, be so related and classified, it forms the basis for a new category of behavior patterns.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 22,23.

The method of interpreting personal experience is not to be judged by statistical standards any more than the latter are to be evaluated by personal experience methods. Some one may question the personal experience method because it treats of a relatively few persons, but such a comment reveals a statistical psychosis and a lack of comprehension of the personal experience method. By the latter method one case is proportionately as vital as a million — to the extent that it brings something new before the mind that may be related to what is already known, and hence may be understood.

May any person interpret his own experiences? Not necessarily. In their intricate phases, rarely. Hence, it is important that the interviewee confine his attention to as accurate and complete a description of his experiences as possible. It is the trained social research expert who had better attend to the interpretation, in the same way that the physician interprets the symptoms of the patient whose main function is to describe how he feels.

In a recent study on non-voting the non-voters were asked to explain why they did not vote, but the chances are in many cases the non-voters did not know and could not possibly tell. A description of the circumstances and experiences of each non-voter would give the research expert a basis for an adequate interpretation of reasons.

On the Coast the experiences of Americans with Orientals often contained adverse interpretations,

due sometimes to the "different" physical appearance of the Oriental, sometimes to the differences in his traditions, and sometimes to other factors, such as economic competition, or to political harangueing and yellow journalism playing upon the emotions.⁶ To the extent that we can reproduce in our minds the circumstances under which an experience has occurred, we can understand it, and to the degree that we can reproduce all the important types of experiences that have occurred in a race relations situation, we can understand that situation. When that situation is understood, the work of social research is done.

The similarities in personal experiences are major traits. Whatever the differences may be, it is apparently true that these are outvoted in both quantity and quality by the similarities. While the differences create the problems and are the main centers of attention in social research, the similarities are vital because it is necessary to understand them in order to be able to classify and relate the differences.

All people have loves and hates, joys and sorrows; all communicate and (above the moron level) are able to think; all are active and do things. There is a universal culture pattern.⁷ All have food habits, dress habits, shelter habits; all have religious practices, family and social systems, methods of

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷ Cf. Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (Crowell, 1923), Ch. V.

control or government, property rights, a war technique, knowledge, and art professions. "It is because the same relations in communication, thought, and tools everywhere prevail that the cultures of the world have the same form and manifest the same *processes*. This is what is meant by the universal pattern."⁸

Franz Boas, a leading anthropologist, after painstaking study leans to the conclusion that the organization of mind is practically identical among all races of men, that is, the laws which determine the modes of thought and action, are the same; and that mental activity follows these laws everywhere.⁹ E. B. Reuter, an authority on population problems, concludes that all races possess the essential characteristics which constitute the human mind and that all have the capacity to acquire civilization.¹⁰ The sociological verdict may be added in the words of Park and Miller: "The nature of man is everywhere essentially the same and tends to express itself in similar sentiments and institutions."¹¹ In other words, there are good grounds for the assumption that, whatever the biological differences and social heritage differences may be, there is also a common universal core of inheritance and heritage.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁹ *The Mind of Primitive Man* (Macmillan, 1911), p. 102.

¹⁰ *Population Problems* (Lippincott, 1923), p. 102.

¹¹ *Old World Traits Transplanted* (Harper, 1921), p. 2.

To the extent that people have similar life experiences they are likely to develop similar habits of thought and action and to grow alike. For this reason, also, they develop a "consciousness of kind" and may be characterized by extensive imitative activity.¹² To the degree that a person is representative or typical he is generally understood. When he does average or ordinary things, the peace of the group is not disturbed; but when he acts even a little differently, inquiring attention is at once directed upon him.

When a person experiences a circumstance that is unusual, he may be expected to become a little "different," and hence to be to that extent misunderstood. If there are many of these unique experiences, then many of his attitudes become "different." If a whole group experiences, for example, economic circumstances that are distinctly below or above the mass, a wide chasm in attitudes and thus in group opinion will develop; powerful antagonistic currents of public opinion may be set in motion.

In the ways that occupations and hence the experiences of people vary, they become different from each other, and conflicts arise. The farmer, for example, is different from the city man because he has different occupational experiences. Many of the chief distinctions between the members of different races are evidently due largely to differences in ex-

¹² Cf. Tarde's *Laws of Imitation*, tr. by Parsons (Holt, 1903).

periences. It is important, therefore, to study *differences* and the *origins* of differences in human experiences, for out of these, social misunderstandings, conflicts, and problems arise.

It is these differences which become the centers of whatever group consciousness comes to overt expression. It is these which create the social tensions that arise and develop into neighborhood disturbances, feuds, riots, civil strife.

It is also these differences which stimulate new awakenings, new enthusiasms, and lead to inventions, discoveries and progress. It is the new, the unknown, the shocking, and hence the different, that are the most effective social stimuli, that make social contacts enlivening, and that constitute the most interesting and worthwhile laboratory of social research.

In the Boys' Work Survey, it was found, for example, that the boys' experiences in the classroom are different from those of the teacher, and that the failure of the teacher, as the responsible adult to recognize these differences, often creates "problem boys." Likewise, the failure of the parent to understand his boy is due to similar reasons. The church that expects a boy to sit through a service designed almost wholly for adults or even old people rarely puts itself in the experiences of the boy who is "sitting through." Out of respect the boy when questioned by the pastor regarding the church service may respond "Fine," but the chances are that such

a pastor knows little regarding the process of interviewing boys and of obtaining a true picture of what is going on in the boy's world.

The personal experience method of social research may lay claim to the support of both logic and science. To seek out the origins of the "different" in personal experiences is to penetrate to the ultimate human sources of knowledge, to uncover the beginnings of misunderstandings, and to open the way for accommodation and the peaceful adjustment of conflicts, not to mention the possibility of preventing misunderstandings and strife.

This method of social research finds support in the technique of the psychiatrist, the psycho-analyst, the physician. Each centers attention on individual clients; each starts with some functioning of the human organism that is "different," and then works back to the origins of this unusual functioning.

This method, however, is not to be classed with that of the introspectionist psychology. In the latter case, one "introspects" his own mind; in the former, the emphasis is on studying the experiences, memories, and so forth, of other persons, of getting these in objective terms, and then of comparing with the common universal core of human behavior patterns that are already pretty well understood and translated into objective terms.

When a new person (stranger) or race (with strange customs) appears, the personal experience

method of attitudes seeks full and detailed descriptions, not only of the "strange" and hence different, but of its origins in human experiences and cultures. Sometimes the "new" is simply new to the people of a given locality or race, but very old, commonplace, and understood to the peoples who have brought it unwittingly into conflict with the accepted order of the locality where it has created a flurry of excitement. Its natural history will often make it understood; and to the degree that it is understood it can be handled wisely. The "old" with which it comes into conflict is often "new" to the newcomers, and hence a social conflict is often a strife between two "different" (viewed from the exponents of each respectively). For example, while the Japanese "picture bride" procedure was "shocking" to many Californians, it probably was no more shocking than the free love-making in America is shocking to the Japanese.

When the natural history of each "different" attitude is obtained and given to the opposing groups, the road will have been opened for mutual understanding and hence, for accommodation and adjustment. As soon as a "different" attitude is understood and related to the common knowledge of attitudes, it need no longer be a source of conflict, and the social researcher, like the psychiatrist, may go on to the next situation which is creating trouble, and proceed in the same way.

72. Every time you see me you recognize me as being a little better than a dog and whenever I see you I think of you as a cruel master with a bull lash. As long as the feeling keeps churning around in you that I am so inferior, you will despise me and as long as my hatred keeps stirring and boiling around in me I will hate and despise you.¹³

¹³ Boys' Work Survey.

To the extent that mutual dislike is due to experiences, it may be dissolved through mutual understanding. Sometimes it may spring from antagonistic emotional reactions arising out of the hidden sources of personality, and thus when mutually understood may not disappear but simply make adjustments possible.

The personal experience and life history method of studying attitudes searches out the different, obtains its natural history, makes this history available to those who do not understand, and adds it to the human stock of comprehensibles; it then goes on to the next "different," and repeats the process.

The method discussed in this chapter resolves itself into collecting personal experiences in, both their *rational and emotional details* and classifying them according to behavior patterns. Certain undertones come out repeatedly as in an orchestra — and thus we obtain understanding. The similarities are understood first, but the differences and the relationships are often puzzling. But when these are analyzed into their origins and are seen in their natural relationships they too are made plain.

CHAPTER X

MEASURING SOCIAL DISTANCE

ALL HUMAN relations may be thought of in terms of social distance. A person's opportunity to live in a community and to enjoy normal social contacts in that community depend on social distance. One who is "reserved" is maintaining social distance. A person, however, is not to be treated like a book, that is, as something to be taken off the shelf, read, and then put back "in its place."

73. I feel that I cannot go to my parents for advice when I have a problem to face because there is a language barrier between us and I couldn't make them understand me nor could they make me understand them. I learned the Japanese language at home but not so that I could speak very fluently. Most of the time now I use English at home, to which father at times replies in broken English, but mother cannot use it. Because of this difficulty in communication I have to work out my problems myself.¹

I. The Nature of Social Distance

Social distance refers to "the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterize pre-social and social relations generally."² It ac-

¹ Race Relations Survey.

² R. E. Park, "The Concept of Social Distance," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII:339-44.

counts for the rise of misunderstandings and hence for the real underlying factors which create social problems. The capitalist in denouncing the labor unionist displays social distance traits. The wealthy landlord condemning the tenants of his unsanitary and congested tenements is maintaining social distance. The survey of any untoward conditions, no matter how objective and concrete, such as the wage problem, strikes, race prejudice, juvenile delinquency, requires an analysis of the social distances involved before the situation is fully understood. In fact, the analysis of social distance in all of its personal aspects usually makes clear why any given problem exists.

In the Race Relations Survey it was found that people generally expressed an increasing degree of misunderstanding and prejudice, as social distance became greater. English, Scotch, Welsh, for example, put their own races near the top of the "friendly" column, and Orientals at the bottom. Orientals likewise put Orientals high, and Nordics low. Boys in trouble put members of the "gang" high and teachers low. At every turn social distance is a vital factor.

In order to understand better the nature of social distance each of 248 persons was asked to take the race for which he felt the greatest antipathy and describe in detail the circumstances as nearly as he could recall them under which he developed this dislike. Under what conditions did this dislike origi-

nate and develop? Not his opinions but his experiences direct and indirect were requested. It was requested that these be written out as fully and freely as possible and with special attention to all important details that occurred.

These personal experience data prove to be enlivening and interesting. They fall into certain classifications.

1. The first and largest grouping of materials was composed of *tradition and accepted opinion*. It is clear after reading the data that hearsay evidence coming from both one's personal friends and from relative strangers in one's own "universe of discourse" who possess prestige in one's eyes are widely influential in creating social distance. In the case of nearly every one of the 119 persons who placed the Turks at the head of their antipathy column, tradition and accepted opinion were the main, if not the only factor operating. This second-hand evidence comes chiefly from one's elders, parents, preachers, returned missionaries, telling of the massacres of Armenians by the Turks, newspaper articles of a similar character, motion pictures showing Turks as "villains," and from Armenian eye-witnesses of Turkish cruelties. Many of the 119 persons said that they had never seen a Turk, much less did they know even one.

The person giving the second-hand and hearsay racial reports have usually entered *imaginatively* into them so often and so thoroughly that they seem

to have become his own personal experiences. Three large chances for error enter into these handed-down traditions and opinions, namely: (1) the possibility of erroneous observations in the first place; (2) the likelihood of errors creeping into the repeating of these statements; and (3) the probability of entering into them imaginatively from one's own peculiar biases and experiences rather than from the viewpoint of the persons about whom they center. It is factors such as these which rule hearsay evidence out of civil and criminal courts; and yet, in studying the origins of race antipathy it appears that handed-down traditions and opinions greatly predominate.

74. When I was a young child my father one night at the dinner table spoke of some of the cruel practices of the Turks, which made a deep impression on me and perhaps started my aversion to the race.

Another thing is a picture in a book of my father's, in which a Turk is selecting a woman for his harem. His prejudiced attitude of explanation together with the picture made a lasting impression on me.

In studying geography in school I learned of the Turks' attitude toward women and this caused me to hate the race. In history classes in high school I studied the Crusades and the Turks' cruelty impressed me. Later I have read of the terrible massacres the Turks have committed.

Parent, teacher, and reading are the main sources of my hatred of the Turk.³

75. All my store of unpleasant reactions against the Turks is not based on any personal knowledge of them. I do not even know a representative of this people; never have

³ Race Relations Survey.

glimpsed a Turk in gentle or savage mood, never, except in imagination. But I have much second-hand knowledge. I have derived it from the lurid headlines of newspapers, from magazine articles on revelations of pseudo-political intrigue, from the stories dealing with the exotic life behind the mysterious veil and barred window. In church I have heard of Turkish atrocities to helpless missionaries. I have heard of the Turkish aversion to our culture and ideals talked of at dinner, at club meetings, and on the street. Nowadays I hear of the young Turk, with his intellectual veneer but who is the same unspeakable old Turk underneath.⁴

76. I have never before really stopped and thought out any reasons why I dislike the Turks and when I do I really don't know any logical reason why I should dislike them. When I was a child I always heard so much about the cruelty of the Turks, and the horrible tortures and persecutions they inflicted upon the Christians. Hence, I have always pictured a Turk as a vile, greasy-looking individual with a long curved knife in his mouth.⁵

2. Unpleasant sense impressions *personally experienced* in *childhood* and *adolescence* are many. Sometimes *fear* is aroused; and again, *disgust*. *Fear* is the more dynamic and predominant factor. In either case there is a sensory image that is often described as "horrifying." The fact that these images were experienced in childhood gave them a more or less permanent character.

77. We lived in a town in the Middle West. My father was having some improvements made about our residence and hired a negro to do the work. This negro was an old darkey of perhaps fifty-odd years. He lived alone, in a little shack on the outskirts of town. We children always called

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*Ibid.*

him "nigger Martin" and our older brothers and sisters used to use this name when they wanted anything done. "Nigger Martin will get you if you aren't good" meant more than words to us.

The negro Martin was digging a large ditch around our house. Of course, child fashion we were there and observed everything that went on. After awhile it became tiresome to us so we thought we'd have some fun. As he threw up shovelfull after shovelfull of dirt we picked up pieces of dirt and threw at him. He became angry (I don't blame him) and told us that if he ever caught us we'd "catch it." We ran and did not bother him again.

The next day he came and continued the work. We came to watch, and without the slightest warning he grabbed me into the ditch. I was frightened and I cried and screamed while the others went to tell father. When he came and "saved" me I was a most happy but frightened girl. The name "nigger" of any sort always frightened me from that day on. That incident and all our training about the negro has naturally made me dislike and fear them.⁶

78. When I was about eight years old I went for a hike in the hills and on returning I had to pass through some Chinese vegetable gardens where a Chinese was seemingly picking strawberries. When I came along he jumped out and grabbed at me, but I started running with him running close after me. He yelled something at me in Chinese. Finally I reached home, but ever after that I have been much afraid of Chinese.⁷

3. Unpleasant race impressions *personally experienced* in *adulthood* are also common. As a rule the anti-racial attitudes in these cases represent a generalization of experiences with a few individuals of the specific race. Although there may be a recognition that the given experiences have been re-

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

lated to the less socially developed members of the race in question or from non-typical individuals, the aversion is likely to spread to the whole race. Adult experiences show a reversal of emphasis when compared with childhood reactions. *Disgust* is the prevailing emotion experienced, although *fear* may be aroused.

79. I spent several weeks at a summer resort in Michigan where there were many wealthy Jews, who made a great display of their wealth, wore a great amount of flashy jewelry and expensive clothes and yet they were most penurious when they were paying for board, lodging, or souvenirs. These experiences gave me the impression that Jews are greedy, miserly, selfish, egotistical, fond of display, because the individuals I came in contact with had these characteristics.⁸

80. "Let the Chinese be damned of body and soul" has been the by-word of the English toward my innocent people for more than half a century. Although one of the oldest and outstanding Christian nations of the world, she has poisoned the body and mind of a generation of Chinese through the opium traffic. She is continuing this treachery today with greater effort. This is unthinkable; that a God-fearing, out-and-out Christian nation is peddling a drug of that nature in this day and age. I cannot tolerate hypocrisy in any individual; then should I tolerate a nation as such? Decent society outlaws dope peddlers; therefore decent civilization in like manner should outlaw nations as such?⁹

In asking for data the writer specifically requested that "experiences" only be described and that generalizations, expositions, and denunciation be

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

avoided; the latter procedure, however, crept into nearly all the papers; it averaged half the space in nearly 50 per cent of the papers and was the only characteristic of a few, especially of those whose antipathetic feeling was pronounced. Subsequent personal interviews with representative individuals showed that this practice was due not to a desire to dodge the issue, but to a widespread habit of generalizing first and then belatedly examining actual experiences and analyzing these.

Moreover, this generalization habit was usually on the basis, first, of tradition and opinion, and second, of experiences with a few individuals from the lower levels of a "despised race," or with a few better class individuals showing their worst natures to their "enemies" — something not necessarily peculiar to any race. Sometimes a single sensory image engendering fear or disgust or both, and experienced in childhood, is the basis of a generalization against a whole race. While there are definite feeling bases of an inherited nature that lead to race antipathies, unscientific generalizations upon a few personal outstanding adverse experiences or of any adverse traditions is an important concluding datum.

It is to be noted first of all that social contacts do not necessarily eliminate social distance, and that intimacy today is no guarantee of intimacy tomorrow. Intimacy may be followed by distance and antipathetic feelings. This is the main dif-

ference between neutral social distance and antipathetic distance — the former is not preceded by social contacts and intimacy while the latter may be so preceded.

The fact that race antipathy is often preceded by two or three outstanding unfavorable experiences is interesting because these experiences are usually accompanied by powerful sense impressions and strong emotional reactions of fear, disgust, or repulsion. Touch, smell, sight, and even taste appear in race aversions. "Touching phobia" is especially interesting. The physiological bases require further investigation.

In many instances of aversion the primary reaction is not a desire to be heartless, but a seeking to maintain "distance." A person may fail to enter sympathetically into another's mood. He does not know and perhaps does not care what the other person is thinking about. He may even think in effect: "How dastardly are people who have different views from my own; they ought to be stamped out." This is social distance. In other words, as Dr. Park has stated,¹⁰ "society begins where you care about the presence of other people, where their attitudes have a significance for you. Social distance, in the particular sense, measures in other words the extent to which you are disposed to treat others personally."

"Social" becomes related to "distance" when personal relations exist. "If I am perfectly naïve with

¹⁰ In a written communication.

regard to the attitude of the other person, or if I am indifferent then the distance between us is very great.¹¹ Social distance may be thought of in terms of social contacts. Where there are no social contacts of any kind whatever, complete isolation exists, and the social distances are indeterminable. Where the simplest perception by one individual of another individual exists, the distance, is great, but where this perception passes into communication of feelings, sentiments, and ideas then social distance becomes greatly shortened. The greater the *intimacy of association the shorter may be the social distance*. But intimacy is no guarantee that social distance will remain short. It may be followed by mutual disgust and open hostility. Closeness of social contact makes possible either the growth of good will or of ill will.¹² Increasing attraction or repulsion may be the outcome.

Social distances are of two kinds. One is due to absence of perception and communication. The other is a recoil from acquaintance and intimacy in which differences in attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs were discovered and in which conflicts developed. Conflicts thus may arise from a feeling or an awareness of difference, or from an absence of knowledge of the other person's or persons' experiences and origins of attitudes.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 283.

Viewed from a social distance an individual takes on the characteristics of his group or groups. His traits are not distinguished from his group's tastes. "All Chinese look alike to me" — when they are socially distant. On the other hand, a person upon close acquaintance reveals his individuality, or his distinguishing marks. But this individuality may produce either favorable or unfavorable attitudes. Intimacy may lead to arousal of disgusts or to ennui caused by repetition of tiresome stimuli. Where there is no caste system, individuals are continually getting "out of place" from the standpoint of somebody, and hence arousing unfavorable reactions on the part of the "somebody."

Pity illustrates an anomalous character that social contacts may assume. At first thought it appears that where pity exists social distance has been annihilated, but this observation is superficial. Pity implies distance, as shown when one puts himself in the place of the "pitied." Only pseudo-social persons want to be pitied. The normal person does not want condescension; in fact, he reacts against it and away from the one showing it toward him. Only the socially perverted accept it.

Social distances are deliberately maintained by an auto-aristocratic society.¹³ Those in authority maintain personal "reserves" and social conventions which hinder the rank and file from becoming inti-

¹³ R. E. Park, "The Concept of Social Distance," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII:342.

mate with them, and from entering imaginatively into the minds of the leaders. Democracy, on the other hand, theoretically strives to overcome the factors which create or support social distance.

II. Recording Social Distance

In order to obtain a more accurate idea of social distance the following research method has been tried out. One hundred and ten persons were asked to mark Document XII, thinking of each of the thirty-nine races as a class, and not of the best or worst members of each, and to indicate into how many of the seven social groups noted at the top of Document XII they would willingly admit each.¹⁴

Document XII shows how one person recorded different social distances for different races. Armenians, for instance, are admitted to only one group within the country, the visitors' group, while Canadians are granted admission to five groups. Greeks, however, are allowed no social contacts within the country.

According to Document XII it is seen that the Armenians are put five groups away from complete intimacy; the Canadians none, and the Greeks, six. Social contact distance, therefore, may vary from .00 to 6.00.

¹⁴ A series of experiments has been performed which indicate that the order of the seven social groups noted on Document XIV is one of increasing social distance.

Document XII

RECORDING SOCIAL DISTANCE

According to my first feeling reactions I would willingly admit members of each racial group (as a class, and not the best I have known, nor the worst members) to one or more of the groups under which I have placed a cross (x). (If you are wholly unfamiliar with any one of the racial groups, then no marks need be made. Note that crosses may be put in any number of the first five columns for each racial group. Note that a cross put in either column 6 or 7 for a given racial group means that no other crosses should be given that group.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	To close kinship by marriage	To my club as personal chums	To my street as neighbors	To employment in my occupation	To citizenship in my country	As visitors only to my country	Would exclude from my country
Armenians						x	
Bulgarians						x	
Canadians	x	x	x	x	x		
Chinese						x	
Czecho-Slovaks						x	
Danes				x	x		
Dutch				x	x		
English	x	x	x	x	x		
Filipinos						x	
French	x	x	x	x	x		
French-Canadians	x	x	x	x	x		
Finns				x	x		

Germans	x	x	x	x	x	
Greeks						x
Hindus						x
Hungarians						x
Indians (Amer.)				x	x	
Irish	x	x	x	x	x	
Italians				x	x	
Japanese						x
Jew-German						x
Jew-Russian						x
Koreans						x
Mexicans						x
Mulattos						x
Negroes						x
Norwegians	x	x	x	x	x	
Portuguese						x
Poles						x
Roumanians	x	x	x	x	x	
Russians						x
Serbo-Croatians						x
Scotch	x	x	x	x	x	
Scotch-Irish	x	x	x	x	x	
Spanish						x
Syrians						x
Swedish				x	x	
Turks						x
Welsh	x	x	x	x	x	

Your father's races-----

Your mother's-----Your age-----

Your present religious connections-----

Your occupation-----Sex-----

Limited contacts at a distance only are allowed Armenians and Greeks, while Canadians are doubly fortunate. The chances for social problems to arise are much greater in the one case than in the other.

Social distances vary according to one's occupational activities. Incomplete data indicate that business men do not accord as wide a range of social contacts as do social workers or teachers to the respective races. Their experiences may be of a different character. They are engaged in a "getting and profit-making" occupation as distinguished from social work and teaching which are "giving and non-profit-making" occupations. Social contacts on the former basis are less likely to be favorable than on the latter. Social workers are dealing with adults primarily while teachers are working with children, which are likely to be more responsive. True, the different occupational experiences may account for the different social contact reactions. At any rate personal interviewing is necessary in order to locate the experidistances and social contact ranges. The recording of the contact distances and ranges, however, gives a more accurate basis than has been heretofore available for understanding social problems.

Social distances also vary according to the occupations that one contacts. A hod carrier is permitted few social contacts as a distance only, by a "society débutante," and *vice versa*. Social distances

shift with the sex of the persons who are recording their reactions. They also vary with the age of the judges. In other words, there is an extensive and intricate overlapping of social distance reactions, which as they are increasingly understood will help to explain social misunderstandings.

Additional light on measuring social distance may be secured from a sample experiment on rural social distance.¹⁵ A total of 456 young women were asked to give their feeling reactions to the following classifications of choices (results given in right hand column of Table I

TABLE I

1. I would prefer to marry a farmer	13
2. I would prefer to live on a farm	31
3. I would prefer to spend most of my time in the country	56
4. I would prefer to spend my vacation in the country	102
5. I would prefer to go to the country once in a while	225
6. I do not care for the country	26

It is assumed that the statement, "I would prefer to marry a farmer," indicates a closer sympathy with rural life than, "I would prefer to live on a farm," and so on. These assumptions may be tested out, however, and if found to be true, the results give an indication as to how "distant" the 456 per-

¹⁵ From manuscript by W. G. Binnewies, Colorado State Teachers College.

sons actually are from rural life and sympathy. A leading value of such a study as this is found in the large number of important questions which it raises for further investigation.¹⁶

III. Social Distance and Status

The significance of social distance is its relation to social status. For example, Japanese immigrants are ambitious to improve their status, and in so doing, they get "out of place." Hence, they irritate people who want an established order. They, however, are more willing to take rebuffs than to accept inferior status. Herein, we have the whole problem of social distance summed up. Distance means inferior status. Attempts to climb out of the lower status levels bring persecution and conflicts. The dilemma is represented by the choice between inferior status and peace on one hand, or recognized status and conflict on the other.

The Exclusion Law barring Japanese altogether is interpreted by intellectual Japanese as lowering their status in the eyes of the world. They are not put on the same level as other races, but on a lower level. This increasing of social distance by legislation is interpreted as a demotion in status, — something which is intolerable to a proud people.

¹⁷ Another important study which contains important implications concerning social distance is that by Goodwin B. Watson, entitled, "The Measurement of Fair-mindedness" (New York, 1925).

Social distance results from the maintenance of social status, that is, of the *status quo* in social relationships. A person by keeping *others* at a distance maintains his standing among his friends. One can bear the loss of almost anything in life easier than loss of social status, hence, the *raison d'être* for maintaining social distances.

Status has usually originated in force, and social distance likewise has been established by force, war, misrepresentation, and subtle propaganda devices. The status of groups has usually been determined in the same manner. Moreover, any group or person will ordinarily fight to maintain status once it has been achieved — even when acquired unjustly. They will usually struggle to improve status, although perhaps by less direct means. Status and social distance are precious partly because they have usually been struggled for.

Boys in a gang fight for status and even to maintain subtle forms of social distance. Once achieved they are held fast to until a successful challenger appears. But this is an unstable basis for the group, so that on higher group levels we find status and distance ingrained in laws, hereditary precedence, a social caste system, and the mores. Professional ethics is a maintenance of distance between those who accept standards and those who do not, — by those who do. Restrictive immigration laws promote social distance. Patriotism, or group loyalties, further social distance as much as they diminish it.

Secret societies maintain social distance. The buying off of justice depends upon eliminating social distance and establishing intimate relations with a friend of the court. Vast appropriations go where social distances are short. "Pull" means that social distance has been overcome. To understand social distance is to understand social problems.

CHAPTER XI

ANALYZING COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND OPINION

COMMUNITY has both a general and a local meaning. In the larger sense, community means the whole population of any one racial or language group. In addition to a common language and traditions, there is also a certain consciousness of common interests. "There is always a larger and more inclusive community; an outside world within which the local or racial community maintains a relatively separate and independent existence."¹

Community in the local sense is confined to the limits of a retail trade area. There is a common language, some degree of economic independence, and a consciousness of common interests. The local community is composed of neighborhoods, usually two to six or eight in number. The traffic thoroughfares divide the local community into neighborhoods, which are more social in function. is always a larger and more inclusive community; an outside world within which the local or racial community maintains a relatively separate and independent existence.¹

¹ From unpublished manuscript by R. E. Park.

Studying Community Patterns

Community in the general sense possesses a varied social organization, which must be understood if one is going to cope with local community problems. Differences in fundamental community patterns are well illustrated by the Mexican, Chinese, Japanese, and American community as found in the Race Relations Survey.

1. In studying the Mexican immigrants, the peons, which are the most numerous type, we do not find a developed communal organization. Having come from a country where illiteracy has prevailed and where democratic control has not been theirs, they are more or less socially helpless in a complex society. In comparison with the organization of American community life they are essentially primitive. Their family life may or may not have been solemnized by marriage;² their attitude toward desertion is loose; their hospitality is marked, being of the communal order; they are socially docile; their social organization is undeveloped like that of green football players gathered together at the beginning of the season, forming a group that is easily disorganized. Their poverty is not only high but is met by themselves only through individual families and not by social organization. Their standards regarding morals are elemental, and their sense of re-

² For reasons that are perfectly natural in view of conditions surrounding them in Mexico.

sponsibility to the state or other large group units is undeveloped. They act together better under autocratic leadership than under democratic leadership from their own members. They are humanity in the rough, primitive, and socially untrained, but possessing at least potentially many of the finest qualities which go to make civilization.

The wide differences in community organization between the Mexican peons and Americans bring about special problems, such as a common misunderstanding of the Mexican and his ways, by otherwise intelligent Americans, often denunciations of him by narrow-experienced or narrowly-patriotic Americans.

On the other hand, the simplicity of the Mexican community is a great advantage from the standpoint of accommodation, assimilation, and Americanization. There are no traditionally powerful institutions of strange character to be broken down. Where the second generation are not too much handicapped by early disadvantages they have not great difficulties in becoming Americanized.

2. The Chinese (on the Coast) range in types from the traditional to the up-to-the-minute American. The traditional comprise the large percentage of the older Chinese. They have brought with them a family-clan-village type of community encased in centuries of organized traditions.

The family-clan-community is well knit together, and conflicts with American life. The second gen-

eration Chinese often find themselves in especially difficult situations. On one hand they owe allegiance to a hard and fast system of parental control over them, and on the other, they are attracted strongly by the freedom accorded American children.

The Tongs, or especially developed family-clan organizations in the United States, are after all a modified expression of traditional Chinese community organization. Their methods of providing justice and their extremes in procedure are so "played up" in the American press that the whole race is seriously discounted.

The Chinese local community has what has been called "a telepathic understanding." Let a stranger appear and "in twenty minutes" word has been passed throughout Chinatown. Personal means of communication are so perfected that it has been said that there are "no secrets in Chinatown."

The village type of community is also expressed by the Chinese in America, for example, by the "Chinatowns" which are partly social defense mechanisms. The family-clan-village organization of the older Chinese is considered primitive by Americans; moreover, its rigid traditionalism prevents it from responding to American impacts. It feels the effects of attacks, often vicious, and hence "closes in on itself."

The nature of the Chinese family-village community is so different from that of American commu-

nity life that its utter strangeness to and widespread misunderstanding by Americans is common and leads to the older Chinese segregating themselves completely. By having almost nothing to do with one another socially, with no political contacts, and with only a few economic lines of contact open, the two races have effected a nominal accommodation. Everything runs along smoothly until "tong" wars break out in "Chinatown" and then the press brings some of the spectacular phases of Chinatown life vividly before the American public, and new waves of abhorrence pass over the American mind, but which usually produce no action inasmuch as the "tong" wars do not ordinarily include American life and property.

The family-village system is breaking down among the younger Chinese. The older rule-of-thumb, irrational, magical types of control are unsatisfactory to the younger Chinese who are breaking away from them. The dictum that "father did it" no longer rules. The reaction however, may carry the younger Chinese to the extreme and the "sheik" "flapper," and "smart set" types become conspicuous. These developments indicate that the Chinese when released from the hard and fast family-village traditions are capable of adjustment, assimilation, and Americanization.

3. The community organization of the older Japanese immigrant, that is, of those forty years of age and older, is of the feudal-bureaucratic type. The

older Japanese brings with him almost a "blind reverence" for the Mikado and a feudalistic loyalty to Japan, a domineering attitude toward his wife, often an illiteracy status, a tendency not to have much to do with Americans (which is augmented by anti-Japanese prejudices of Americans), and an intention of returning to Japan as soon as he has saved up "enough money." He works through agents and representatives more or less bureaucratically. He brings with him a liking for and skill in intensive farming, a Buddhistic or Shintoistic religious belief, a seven day labor week, and a belief in a large family system.

But America's professed hatred of bureaucracy and a fear that Japanese efficiency will crowd out the American in his chosen economic fields has produced a bitter conflict between Americans and the Japanese immigrants. This conflict in turn has resulted in mutual suspiciousness leading to charges by Japanese against Americans of hypocrisy, selfishness, and an unChristian attitude, and to charges by Americans against Japanese that the latter are secret agents of the Mikado and are planning to turn California, for instance, into a Japanese territory. The younger Japanese, however, are quick to adopt American ways. They appreciate American progress, and fall in line quickly.

Japanese community organization in America develops economic and welfare efficiency methods similar to those prized highly by American business

men. News that is pertinent in any way to Japanese immigrant situations is orderly disseminated. Records are kept in detail by organizations, and a rational attitude is maintained.

The Mexican peon simplicity of community, the older Chinese family-clan-village community, the older Japanese feudal-bureaucratic community, all exist on the Coast alongside of each other, often in competition with the prevailing American type of community, which is chiefly individualistic-industrial. The last type favors cooperation so that the individual may "get ahead" faster. Industrial and big business goals are prized more highly than religion and sometimes even than country.

It is natural that the well-organized, efficient Japanese community should compete more seriously than any of the other immigrant group communities with the individualistic American community. Moreover, Japanese efficiency has developed strongly along agricultural lines where the American individualist is not well organized and is less efficient than the Japanese. The impact of the latter's efficiency has been so great and sudden and supposedly so subtle that the underlying competition has broken out into clashes, ill-will, and anti-Japanese legislation. Instead of meeting the Japanese on levels of Americanization and of increased efficiency, the agricultural interests have fought the Japanese off the land. The Japanese agricultural efficiency has been vigorously attacked, because it

has employed long hours, seven-day labor, women labor, and thrift. Before this attack the American felt that the only thing to do was to put the Japanese off the land.

The Japanese in industry have been so efficient in working "long hours for less money" that American labor unions have been his bitter enemy. They have had so little understanding of him that they see but "one way out," namely, exclusion.

Further studies of the community organization of the various racial groups are needed; they will throw additional light on the underlying competition, conflicts, misunderstandings, that have characterized race relations. They will show the points at which accommodation naturally takes place, as well as where they are prevented.

II. Comparing Local Community Attitudes

Various local communities solve their respective problems with different degrees of skill. Within any race, for example, there may be found different levels of community attitude and opinion. A comparison has already been noted between the Native Sons among the Chinese with their "tong" repudiation and their forward-looking tendencies, and the "tongs" themselves, especially the Highbinder Tongs, with their preying upon the weaknesses of their own race. Another type of intraracial comparisons is afforded by the Japanese communities at

Florin and at Livingston, California — the first local community being one in which the Japanese are on the whole disliked; and the second, one in which they are favored. In one case a conflict prevails; in the other, accommodation.

In Florin the Japanese have contacts with the Americans at one point only, namely, economic, and that only in a very limited way. They have no banking relations with the whites. They are not allowed on the Boards of Directors of the cooperative societies. Their children attend segregated schools. There are no church contacts with Americans, and few personal contacts.

In Livingston the contacts are many. The economic contacts, for instance, are various. Twenty per cent of the stockholders in the one bank are Japanese and eighty per cent are Americans. Both Japanese and Americans are found in the same cooperative society. In the Livingston Cooperative Society 18 of the 46 members are Americans and 28 Japanese.³ The Japanese contributed \$1,000 to the public school kindergarten building where their children attend and which cost \$1,800. A Japanese language school has been discontinued because "the children were not interested." Japanese young men go to the Y. M. C. A. — attending classes or listening to lectures, and playing on the tennis court. Livingston has a parent-teachers association to

³ From Northern California Document on "Livingston, California, An Experiment in Racial Accommodations," prepared under the direction of R. E. Park.

which Japanese belong. The Japanese also share with Americans in financing community enterprises, such as the baseball team, the band, the Chautauqua, the Community Fund, and so on.

81. In the public schools of Livingston there has never been any objections to the Japanese children, except occasionally on the part of newly arrived teachers and this has been quickly dispelled.

This is due not only to the fact that where there is a preponderance of American children, but also to the fact that the Japanese children are acceptable as schoolmates to both the American children and their parents.

"The Japanese don't swear, and what's more they don't even use slang. Now that's saying a good deal, ain't it?" remarked one of the American townsfolk.⁴

The question may now be asked why the Japanese group of Livingston is so much more efficient in making American contacts than the group in Florin. Of course, the Americans in Florin may be less tolerant and more prejudiced than those in Livingston, and ecological factors of a physical nature may also operate; for example, the Japanese as a group settled first in Livingston, although they are now outnumbered five to one, whereas in Florin the American group came first but have since been outnumbered. But there are also differences between the two Japanese groups. In Florin they are of a lower type than in Livingston; the percentage of the illiterate is greater and the whole

⁴ *Ibid.*

level of development is lower. In Livingston the Japanese take a more rational attitude,—for example, they went to the Christian church and asked if the Americans really wanted the Japanese young people to attend, and they received an affirmative answer. They think out their problems.⁵

The better control by the Livingston group is due in part to better leadership. One of their number had been a professor in agriculture in Japan. The leadership has been broad-minded, anticipating problems, and giving consideration to American points of view, instead of just blindly pushing into a community. The relation of community organization to community opinion is summarized in the following statement:

82. It is in the community, rather than in the family, that our moral codes first get explicit and formal definition; it is in the community that we first created formal organizations like the church, the school, the courts, and a multitude of lesser agencies, to enable us to carry on this larger corporate social existence.⁶

Tests are being worked out for measuring community efficiency in particular directions. One membership test for churches is not, as pointed out by C. Luther Fry,⁷ a complete measure of the current interest, of the community in the church; it is

⁵ Stated by Miss Raushenbush in an interview.

⁶ R. E. Park, "Play and Juvenile Delinquency," *The Playground*, May, 1924 (XVIII), p. 96.

rather an index of the community's traditional interest in the church. Attendance ratios (in rural districts) parallel closely the membership ratios and afford another index to community interest.⁸ Money contributions to the rural church vary directly with the economic prosperity of the persons interested in the church, and are a relatively poor index to community interest in the church.⁹ Where economic prosperity of two local communities are similar then the money measure will have significance. Density of population and age of the community are also important items.

Progress is being made in "scoring" communities. M. C. Elmer has worked out a plan for scoring group activities.¹⁰ Membership, in a given cooperative institution in the community, participation in the work the institutions, payment of dues, attendance, and the extent to which the community reacts to the principles of the given institution are suggested items for evaluation. Such rural studies as those originated by C. J. Galpin have gone far in defining the nature and boundaries of rural communities and neighborhoods.¹¹

⁸ *Diagnosing the Rural Church* (Doran, 1924), p. 102.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹⁰ "The Evaluation and Scoring of Community Activities," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXX:175.

¹¹ See also "Rural Primary Groups," by J. H. Kolb (Madison, Wis.), 1921, and Warren S. Thompson — for example, "The Social Areas of Otsego county," (Ithaca, N. Y.), 1923.

The grading of neighborhoods, as developed by Clark and Williams,¹² treats them from five angles: (1) Neatness, sanitation, improvements, (2) recreational facilities, (3) institutions and establishments, (4) social status of residents, and (5) average quality of homes. Under each of these five approaches five sets of sample conditions ranging from grade points 5 to 1 are given, so that a person who grades a neighborhood may have a definite objective standard. The emphasis upon objective standards is excellent, but the basis for working out these objective standards needs to be the combined judgment of a considerable number of trained community workers. The value of a standard, moreover, is subject to variations in the judgments of those applying it to specific neighborhoods. It needs also to be more functional and to deal more largely with activities and personal reactions of the neighborhood's residents. It helps, however, to give a more accurate knowledge of communities and is a step in a helpful direction.

III. Studying Local Community Opinion

A study of personal experiences is the key to community opinion. The best starting point for understanding a local community or retail trade area is in the personal experiences of all who have played

¹² "A Guide to the Grading of Neighborhoods," Whittier State School, 1919.

a rôle in its life. The more unique and effective this rôle the more important the personal experiences of those who have participated.

If some persons have lived their whole lives or nearly all their lives in the given community, their life histories ¹³ are essential; if these persons have been community leaders their life histories are indispensable sources, in fact, the most important sources of knowledge about that community. The changes in attitudes and activities which they, together with the rank and file, have undergone explain better than anything else, the life story of a community.

If there are people residing in the community not functioning in it and yet are achieving prominence outside the community, their life histories, at least as long as they have lived in the community, are valuable sources of information. Persons of worth residing in the community but not achieving prominence either within or without it need to be interviewed. Their life histories will probably disclose why the community is not stimulating them and hence is not functioning fully. If there are community residents who have been in escapades either within or without the community or otherwise have brought "disgrace" upon the community, their life histories will be of special value. The life histories of any persons who have become dependent on

¹³ Cf. R. E. Park, "A Race Relations Survey," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII:202.

charity since residing in the community will be significant.

To know a community it is important to learn what institutions have grown up in it, how they are started, and what have been the interesting phases of their development. What are the life histories of the schools, churches, leading businesses, recreational institutions?

What are the natural histories of any enterprises which have aimed to serve the community, as such, for example, improvement associations, P. T. A., community music pageant, or Christmas enterprises? In what ways has the community attracted the attention of other communities? In what particulars and why? What failures of any kind have occurred in the community, and what were the current circumstances and the resultant conditions?

Another approach is to get the history of any social conflicts that have occurred in the community. By a social conflict is meant a misunderstanding that has developed between two or more persons. It may be expressed in open or secret jealousies, in voiced or unvoiced hatreds, in dislikes and animosities, in "not speaking" and "ignoring." It may be represented by segregating processes and in building "high board fences." It may break out in a "neighborhood row," a riot, bloodshed, and spread to other communities and be expressed in discriminating legislation. Election issues may give splendid "leads" to community conflicts.

Then, there are the accommodations ranging from mere aggregations mutually accepted, to the development of good will and assimilation both among individuals and *en masse*. All such developments throw light not only on the nature of local community life, but also on community organization in general.

In one of the neighborhoods studied in the Race Relations Survey a home-to-home study was made of neighborhood opinion. The neighborhood in question is tri-racial, with white, Negroes and Japanese intermingled, even to the extent of whites and Negroes, whites and Japanese, Negroes and Japanese living in the same flats. Most of the neighborhood, however, is occupied by one story, four and five room cottages.

The whites occupied the region until about 1910. Then the Negroes "jumped over" a thoroughfare into the district. Later, about 1918, another Negro center "sprang up," and at the present time the two sporadic Negro settlements are "growing toward" each other. About 1914, a few Japanese secured a foothold in the neighborhood. It was not until 1921 that the real Japanese increase began, and now the three races—whites, Japanese and Negroes—are "nicely interspersed."

In the following paragraphs excerpts are made from the home-to-home study of the neighborhood, made by one of the Race Relations Staff, Mr. E. F. Bamford. The opinions of the white people, the

Negroes, and the Japanese will be presented in order. Taken together they represent a method for studying neighborhood opinion.

White people and their opinions will be considered first.

83. As between Negroes and Japanese, I like the Negroes better because they tend to their own business and leave the whites alone. They are neat looking and have nice homes and keep them nice. I never had any use for the Japanese.¹⁴

Another lady, who still lives in the neighborhood, and in property owned by herself and husband, prefers the Japanese to the Negroes "because the Japanese are cleaner and neater. Besides they never bother white people, and Negroes sometimes become offensive." But she thinks she cares for Chinese less than for either Japanese or Negroes. This seems to be due to the fact that she had "heard bad things about the Chinese," and had "never lived near them, so I really don't know how I might feel toward them if they were neighbors."

On the other hand, several white persons were interviewed who did not seem to object to either their Japanese or Negro neighbors. For instance, a lady who has both Negro and Japanese neighbors said:

84. I have never had any trouble with people of any nationality or race. I don't see why there should be so

¹⁴ Race Relations Survey.

much trouble about race relations. I think there are good and bad among every race and nationality. As far as my Japanese and Negro neighbors are concerned, I rather like them, for they are quiet and clean and have a good spirit toward everyone.¹⁵

In these quotations there will be noted conflicts of opinion on the part of white people themselves, and with reference to both Japanese and Negroes. These conflicts of opinion seem to run through the entire investigation. Mrs. W., the lady last quoted above, had at least one significant suggestion, as she continued:

85. I think there would be no need for trouble with any of these people if folks would only be intelligently tolerant. I have lived in this neighborhood for fifteen years and never had any trouble with neighbors. But perhaps it is logical for educated people to be more tolerant of these people of other races and nationalities than those with only a poor education. I think lots of people who complain about the Japanese and Negroes would learn better if they only lived among them for a time and learned to know them.¹⁶

But while Mrs. W. seemed fairly tolerant, as indicated in the foregoing statements, she also added:

86. Of course certain limits must be drawn. For instance, I don't think I should ever want any of these people to come into my house in a social way. And I certainly shouldn't want to live in the same house with them.¹⁷

In fact, only one white lady was found who said she did not object to the Japanese in the matter of social life. But she happens to be married to a

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

Japanese and has done much missionary work among the Japanese in this country. To her, the tolerance she possesses toward the Japanese and Negroes seems to be founded on religious ideals. She quoted several passages of Scripture in support of her attitude.

In talking with property owners, one of the principal questions discussed was that of depreciation of property values as a result of the presence of Japanese and Negroes in the neighborhood. While there was a general feeling that this depreciation was inevitable, there were important cases indicating that some of the arguments were not well-founded.

87. There is a tendency for property owners in this neighborhood to raise the prices of their property. They know they can sell almost any time for more than the property is really worth, if they sell to Japanese or Negroes.¹⁸

Another case in point is that of a white family which moved into the neighborhood about two years ago. This was after the appearance of the Japanese and Negroes in this neighborhood. About six months ago this property was sold to another white family at an increase of \$1400.00 over the price paid two years ago. That there are still no serious indications of a sudden decrease in value, was revealed by the fact that the white family living there at present are investing about \$500 in improv-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

ing the property and anticipating selling shortly at an increase of \$1500 over what they paid.

These facts, then, tend to indicate that the notion of property-value depreciation, although it prevails in this neighborhood, is more or less a myth. But perhaps the most important feature for this study is the fact that, even though it be a myth, it operates as a powerful public opinion. A myth easily takes on all the force of reality.

88. I have never had any difficulties of any sort with my neighbors. Most of them are Negroes, although several are whites. I do not mind these Negroes because they seem to be a very good class. They behave themselves and seem to be prosperous. They are always dressed well, cleanly and neatly. They seem to mind their own business. I speak to them when I meet them on the street and they speak to me. It all goes on as if we were all whites or all blacks. But of course, I should rather live in a street where there are all whites.¹⁹

Another lady, Mrs. S., of Spanish descent, "has lived here ever since long before the Japanese and Negroes came." Negroes live on either side of her house. But Mrs. S. has opposite attitudes toward these two Negro families. She likes the family in the house on the east because "they are nice and clean, and they seem to want to be good neighbors." But she thinks the family on the west is not "so nice," and says that the colored woman always has "an uppish air about her."

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Negroes and their opinions will now be considered. Mr. A, a Negro, owns his own home. He likes the neighborhood and would not sell unless he were wealthier and could move to some neighborhood still more desirable. He moved to the present location because he wanted to buy a home and wanted to live in a better neighborhood than where he was. He originally purchased a double house and lot but some time ago he sold half of the lot through a real estate dealer without inquiring as to who was purchasing the lot. He thought it would, of course, be a Negro family on account of the presence on each side of the empty lot of other Negroes. But it was a Japanese who purchased the lot. Mr. A. says he wished it had been a Negro family, but added:

89. I don't mean to say I don't like the Japs. They are all right. We never have any trouble with them. My little boys play with their children and have a good time. They never bother us and we don't bother them.²⁰

The above situation seems to be somewhat typical with reference to the relations between the Negroes and Japanese in this neighborhood. The real conflict seems to be centered more in the attitudes of the whites toward both Japanese and Negroes, and *vice versa*.

In one front yard there were five little boys playing together. Two were Negro children, two were

²⁰ *Ibid.*

white boys, and one was a Japanese child. There was nothing in their apparent attitudes toward each other which indicated difference of status in the group according to racial descent. It is when these children grow up and become saturated with the social heritage of their family traditions that differences in position seems to arise. And in this neighborhood, there appears to be much wider distinctions between the status of the whites, on the one hand, and that of the Negroes and Japanese, on the other hand, than between the Japanese and Negroes.

But the expressions offered by the Negroes as to their attitudes toward the white people are of two kinds. The first is an outgrowth of their more rational contemplation. The second seems to flare up more out of situations charged with emotional reactions.

90. I never reason about which race I like best. It doesn't make any difference to me about races. They're all the same. We get along with all of them all right. If a man is a good neighbor and is all right and behaves himself, it makes no difference to me.²¹

Such is the statement of a Negro man with reference to a choice between whites and Japanese. Asked if there were any race he liked much less than any other, he replied: "Well, you see, it don't make much difference. But I guess maybe it would be Mexicans."

²¹ *Ibid.*

The next case in this connection was that of a Negro woman. Referring to her attitude toward her neighbors, in this case some Japanese, she said:

91. They're just fine. They are fine people. They are so quiet and mind their own business. They never fight among themselves, unless they do inside their houses where nobody can hear them. But we would never know it if they fight 'cause we don't know their language. But they are nice neighbors to have and they never bother us.²²

In case after case, interviews revealed the fact that the Negroes in this neighborhood, as a group, have moved into this part of the city through desire for better homes and higher status. The wish for recognition seems dominant, in some cases strongly combined with the wish for response.

Mr. J is a Negro laborer. He is purchasing the house where he lives and has been paying on it now for three years. He likes this neighborhood better than any other he knows where Negroes can buy property. He says he has never had any sort of difficulties with other people, even of different race. He stated:

92. Race prejudice never bothers me because I refuse to enter into arguments about it and I don't let it get at me. The best way to change the race prejudices problem is to change the way people think about it.²³

This man thinks there is bound to be race prejudice anyway, however. Hence he feels that it would

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

be a mistake to make different racial groups live in separate parts of a community. He stated that there was going to be race prejudice "no matter how you work it," and added, "It is better for all to live where they want to as long as they are sanitary."

Mrs. A. (colored) was asked if she ever experienced unhappiness because of race prejudice. She gave the following answer, full of significant implications:

93. Yes. Any old place. On the streets or cars; in shows or theaters; in parks and churches; in dry goods stores or stores of any kind. In fact, any place where I am apt to meet one of Caucasian blood. In high school, prejudice kept me from finishing my last year. If I am hungry, I cannot eat at public places unless owned by one of my own people. If I'm thirsty, I can't drink any place but one of my own. No matter how I conduct myself or how I look. In fact, my race is treated as if they were a race of lepers or rattlesnakes.²⁴

In answer to the question as to how the race prejudice problem can be solved, she said:

94. It can't be solved until people give up the belief that colored people want social equality as it is called. I mean intermarriage, or invitations into white homes. We care nothing for these things. We want to be treated as human beings; as citizens with citizens' rights. We expect to be punished when we're wrong, but we want protection when we're in the right. We want the freedom of public places. For instance, the street is public. In the same way, all public places should be open to everyone.²⁵

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

Mrs. A. intimated that one of her sorest emotional areas was that involved in the social relations of whites and Negroes. She did not want this thing called social equality, but she intimated that, on certain occasions, white men sought social relations with Negroes, or, at least, with Negro women. She said that the only times white men ever tried to get acquainted with her was when there was an immoral motive involved. But she was glad she was happily married to a good and prosperous colored man, and didn't want such attentions from white men.

95. I do not judge people by race or nationality. I consider the individual only and I like or dislike them for the qualities I find in them. But I guess I like the white people least of all. They are always so full of prejudice and hatred to other races. They are so unjust and inhuman when it comes to other races. And the worst of it is, they spread their prejudices to others.²⁶

When requested to enlarge upon these expressions of opinion, she continued:

96. They (the whites) fear the inevitable progress of the darker races. Prejudice is bringing the very things they are fighting. If there was more freedom and less prejudice, there would not be so much mixing. With white skin, one can have education and positions and better jobs and more comfortable homes. They have more freedom to enjoy life without being humiliated always. With it they need just an ambition, and then all gates are open that are otherwise closed.²⁷

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Then, there is the pastor of a Negro church, who is proud of the achievements of the Negroes in this neighborhood. He mentioned especially the fact that some of the fine bungalows of the neighborhood were planned and built by Negroes. He has lived in his present home for about ten years and has been pastor of his present church for three years. He thinks there is no fundamental difference between the various races and that what one race can do any race may accomplish. He said that, in estimating people, it is a mistake to determine our judgments by race.

He thinks the same reason prevails in the moving of Negroes into this neighborhood as that in the case of any other people, regardless of color:

97. They have their eyes opened to the advantages of living in a good neighborhood and owning their own homes and being as independent, financially, as they can possibly be. They will want to do just what these people (Negroes in this neighborhood) have done; they will want to reach out and improve themselves. And these people like to live in nice homes just like any other people like to live in nice homes when they can. More than four-fifths of the colored people in this neighborhood own their own homes or are paying for them. And it's good for them. It teaches them to sacrifice some of the less important things for the sake of getting their homes. They learn how to be thrifty and save their money, and use it in the best way for themselves and their children.²⁸

The *opinions of the Japanese* in this district were uniform in certain particulars.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

98. We like it here. We tend to our own work, and don't bother our neighbors, and aren't bothered by them in return. Our children play with the Negro children and the white children. Our children like the school.²⁹

One Japanese man said: "I try to make my yard look like other good ones here." Another said: "We are called 'Japs' and things are often blamed on us that we didn't do, but we can't help that." And another:

99. There seems to be more prejudice than there used to be, but with it, we are better off than in Japan. Everything in America is so much bigger, there is so much more opportunity.

White people don't have much to do with us, although two or three women have come in and asked if there was anything to do, when my little Mary was sick. They don't speak to us much except when we are working for them. As they go along the street they more often than not speak to my children. No, I don't believe in intermarriage or segregation either. Everybody ought to be taken for what he is, and not judged by the color of his skin.

We move in here with the Negroes because they have less prejudice against us than whites. They befriend us, and act glad we are here. Sometimes they hold their heads pretty high, though, but are good to my children. The whites got used to the Negroes before we came, and they have let us come in.³⁰

The Japanese here are of the better class peasants and are second or third settlement people, that is, they have lived in a first-settlement district, then as they have progressed they have moved into a

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

second-settlement neighborhood, and so on, moving from a strictly Oriental district into one less Oriental, and then moving again, until finally they are partly Americanized, and their children, noticeably Americanized.

The foregoing excerpts of tri-racial community opinion are not at all exhaustive; they are not complete in any sense—but they indicate a method that is productive of interesting and enlightening results, and that is unusually promising if pursued further under many and different conditions.

CHAPTER XII ANALYZING PUBLIC OPINION

PUBLIC OPINION is not merely the accumulation of personal opinions. Public opinion arises when *differences* in thought and action occur. When there is agreement and no conflicting opinions, there is no public opinion; all matters are taken care of in the *mores*, that is, in the non-discussable phases of group life.

I. Areas of Public Opinion

The preliminary exploration, for example, of anti-racial opinions reveals high pressure areas of two main types. The high pressure areas, as found in the Race Relations Survey, of anti-Japanese opinion were numerous in some of the larger cities and in various rural communities. Then, there are the interspersed high pressure fair play areas. Between are low pressure regions. Unlike meteorological conditions, these areas are relatively stationary; the high pressure areas fluctuate between increasing and decreasing pressures over a period of years. New high pressure areas occasionally appear, while old ones disappear—depending on immigration and emigration, respectively. The high pressure areas

of anti-Japanese opinion, for example, are not coincident with all the areas of Japanese settlement, but particularly with those areas where there is an "invasion" by the Japanese of moderately or high priced residence property in cities occupied by Americans, and in rural areas where the "invasion" is taking place rapidly or where an illiterate type of immigrant is conspicuous and on the increase.

Signs such as this: "Japs keep out. This is a white man's country," denote the storm centers. Areas of Japanese settlement overlapping with Mexicans, Negroes, or poor "white folks" or an established Little Tokio are not usually characterized by "high pressures."

Then, there are secondary but important centers of anti-racial opinion located in the offices of organizations such as those of exclusion leagues, native sons, and "patriotic" bodies, of local community organizations, of loose neighbor groupings centering in the activities of a few self-elected leaders, and of certain newspapers. They may also be sporadic organizations promoted by unscrupulous persons, e. g., shyster lawyers anxious to make money, and using disreputable methods.

The "fair play" pressure areas are more diffused, more rational, and less dynamic. Sometimes they center in an organization for international good will, a church organization, or a broad-guage Chamber of Commerce. There is also a large amount of uncrystallized fair play and good will spirit existing

between certain Americans and certain Orientals who have religious, business, or local community contacts, but whose fair play rarely gets expressed. Then, there is a "fair play" opinion which talks much but stops with passing resolutions.

There are also high pressure areas of "fair play" opinion that focus in the offices of the organizations, business, religious, community, of the various races themselves. Feeling their race to be misunderstood and mistreated they frequently ask Americans for fair play. About all that they can do is to try to get an American hearing, but activity in this connection is quickly challenged by the "anti" opinion. Occasionally, they go into the courts and ask there for justice.

The high-pressure areas of anti-Oriental opinion are concentrated, while the fair play areas are often lacking in cooperation. The "pressure" is higher in anti-racial areas than in the fair play areas. The former usually seem to have more emotional pressure per unit of expression than the latter, and hence create more activity, excitement, furore, and give the impression of being more general. The former come in cartridges; they make themselves heard and felt. The latter are rarely funded; they lose themselves in diffusion. A minority anti-race opinion is likely to outdo and outinfluence by far a majority "fair play" opinion. It meets with prompter and more dynamic responses.

100. One man who holds his belief tenaciously counts for as much as several men who hold theirs weakly, because he is more aggressive and thereby compels and over-awes others into apparent agreement with him, or at least into silence and inaction.¹

The anti-racial or "anti-anything" opinion is deliberately "advertised," while the fair play opinion rarely receives regular publicity. A unit of advertising of anti-race opinions produces far greater responses than a similar unit of advertising of fair play opinion, for it is more spectacular, it implies a conflict, a fight, it arouses the wish for security, it is an announcement that something precious is in danger. It touches off the emotions of dislike. It verges sufficiently on the pathological to arouse morbid impulses. It is excitingly destructive, like a conflagration; while fair play opinion is peacefully constructive, like the growing of an oak.

Anti-Oriental opinion, for instance, has a marked advantage in conflicts with the fair play opinion because its claims to "loyalty," "100 per cent Americanism," and its slogan "This is a white man's country" are easily accepted; its banner of patriotism is not to be doubted. Moreover, its dubbing the "fair play" Oriental opinion as "pro-Oriental" quickly excites the suspicion of the ordinary man. Its effect on the "fair play" opinion is subtle and deadly.

¹ A. L. Lowell, *Public Opinion and Popular Government* (Longmans, Green & Co.), p. 14.

Between all the high pressure areas are regions of dead calm, or of only small eddies. These "between regions" are influenced one way and another by the outreaching whirls of both the anti-racial and the fair play pressures, and sometimes are disturbed by flurries caused by a reported immigrant "invasion" into a given neighborhood.

The various "areas" are "publics;" they are "circles of mutual influence," each is characterized by its own "universe of discourse."² The publics reach from emanating centers of new feelings, ideas, and programs to jagged and intangible, and overlapping circumferences.

Each public has shifting centers of attention. If it were not so, interest would die out; and hence, in order to maintain an active opinion, certain publics, especially those of "anti" tendencies, use special means to create new centers of attention. The newspaper will be called in today to "play up" one report, and tomorrow, another.

Accompanying the high pressure areas of "anti" opinion is a widespread atmosphere of unrest. As a case in point, many people express the fear that the Pacific Coast may become a Mikado's territory, that native Americans may be driven first from the soil, and then from control of the commonwealth, that a general secret movement is being engineered from Japan to transform American and Christian

² Cf. Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1924), p. 791.

California into a Japanese and Buddhist province. Published reports, "loud talkers," quiet insinuation, put people into a suggestible state of mind. Under such conditions rumors, legends, and myths arise spontaneously and are given wide currency. A reputable person's statement of a rumor with "qualifications" are accepted as the truth. Even the "qualifications" have all the force of indirect suggestion. The sight of Japanese men, women, and children who are working in the vegetable gardens on Sunday afternoons are considered primarily as an attack on the American Sabbath rather than in the light of the demands of American housewives for fresh vegetables Monday morning, or as a natural continuation of Japanese traditions and subject to change through appropriate means, and irrespective of the equal desecration of the Sabbath by Americans.

II. Myths and News in Relation to Public Opinion

The rôle of myth in the formation of public opinion is powerful. A myth can be thought of as a definite account of something like "the Yellow Peril" that cannot be proved.³ Irrespective of proof, a myth comes to be a symbol for truth, a mental pattern. It becomes deep-seated in one's feelings and sentiments, occupying the chief place in the background of one's thinking.

³ R. E. Park, by interview.

Since progress and the solution of social problems are hindered so generally by myths, the origin of myths takes on a special significance. A person in a moment of excitement or fear may easily give vent to a number of startling exaggerations. If an atmosphere of excitement is prevalent, then these improved currents rapidly gain currency, and as they are passed on from one individual to another they gather force and authenticity until they become established and accepted myths creating a general situation of unrest if not of fear.

101. (Extracts from statements recently made in an American-Japanese conflict situation.) The Japanese are a wild people . . . They never could be Christianized in a thousand years . . . They were prepared to come over here and wipe us out, but the earthquake was surely a divine intervention to save America, which is God's chosen land. Why they had great tanks of oil stored away over there, ready to ship over here to kill us with . . . Do you know that some of our highest officials are under the influence of Japan, congressmen and senators controlled by Japanese money? . . . They are filthy, dirty people . . . Their homes are the dirtiest places you ever saw . . . These women have no virtue nor modesty, they don't know what such a thing is. A woman told me there was no virtuous women in Japan over thirteen years old . . . And they are all bootleggers. . . . They have the police all bought off so they won't do anything.⁴

The rôle of "news" in the formation of public opinion is not well understood. News is an account of an event; it is not an event itself. Since

⁴ Southern California Documents.

it is an "account," it is given out through some one's interpretation of the event. The experiences of this person, the pictures already in his head, his established mental patterns and interests influence his interpretation or account of the given event. Some one else will give a different account of the event. The nature of "news," therefore, depends in part on the mental patterns of the news reporter. If, as may often happen, "news" reported by a news organization is determined by "entirely private and unexamined standards," then the truth is likely to be distorted and a false public opinion manufactured. These private standards may be vicious or lofty, but in either event they mold the nature of news and influence public opinion as much or even more than the actual events that have occurred. On the Pacific coast, newspaper opinion has been less effective in the rural districts than in the urban. The areas of influence of the metropolitan press have been definitely marked out. Beyond these no extensive anti-oriental opinion has developed.

102. Few episodes in history are more poignant than that of the British prime minister, sitting at the breakfast table with the morning's paper before him, protesting that he cannot do the sensible thing in regard to Russia because a powerful newspaper proprietor has drugged the public⁵

The rôle of the politician seeking votes also operates in the formation of public opinion. If there

⁵ Walter Lippmann, *Liberty and the News* (Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920), p. 14.

are some helpless individuals who cannot be denounced right vigorously, the "public" can not be worked up into thinking that the denouncer is a hero of the first order, a kind of savior of his country as it were, one to whom to deny votes would be traitorous. If the persons who are denounced have no votes of their own and little influence among voters, then the campaign managers instruct the "candidate" to pounce desperately upon such persons; no votes will be lost, while many will be gained. The Orientals, having no votes, but possessing "strange" traits have become "the football of politics." So good is the "political" opportunity, that opposing candidates for high office have simultaneously gone before the public in the rôle of denouncers of "Chinks," "Japs," and so forth, vying with each other in efforts of denunciation. A thousand votes are gained by such performances. The results are too good not to be repeated. But what is the effect on public opinion?

"News," or the account of events, may become so exaggerated in the hands of a newspaper organization, controlled by "good business" principles, or by politicians bent on being elected to office, as to take the form of "propaganda." By propaganda is meant news that has been headed up and interpreted for the purposes of some person or set of "interests," and hence may easily defeat the cause of truth while wearing its cloak. Moreover, when propaganda interprets the news in terms of the

readers' or listeners' prejudices, it becomes doubly dangerous. Propaganda may play upon people's emotional nature until the latter develops pathological patterns. In cities racial public opinion is frequently aroused in connection with "housing wars." A neighborhood is "invaded" by newcomers of lower status. They are challenged, but fall back upon the rights of a free man in a free country. Perhaps their homes are mysteriously burned, and their friends among the established race are sent menacing letters.

III. Stages in the Rise of Public Opinion

In the Coast Survey attention was given to the natural history of public opinion in conflict situations. One example, an American-Japanese conflict, may be reported and analyzed. In the *first* place there was a *peaceful invasion* of an ordinary residential district by Japanese who first came in to take care of lawns. In this geographic and economic, or ecological phase, conditions were being set up whereby an arousal of public opinion was coming.

103. First one or two of them (Japanese) came in here and got work taking care of people's lawns. Then a few more came in. At first they walked to their work, then after a while they got bicycles, then a horse and buggy, and finally automobiles, showing that they were saving their money and advancing.⁶

⁶ Southern California Documents.

104. In —, I bought a tract of thirty lots extending along — St. A year or two after that I made a trip to Europe and left the property in the hands of some real estate men up here. When I returned I went to see them and said, "Well, have you sold any lots yet?" "Yes," they said, "we sold four lots to some Japanese." "Japanese," I said, "Well, I have nothing against the Japanese but I am afraid I won't be able to sell the rest of my lots with them there." "Well," the agent said, "sell them all to Japanese then." "Oh, I don't want to do that," I said.

I went to my lawyer (a prominent man in Los Angeles) to see what I could do about getting the lots back. But they had been sold on contract, the papers had been drawn up and the first payments made, and he told me he didn't think I could do anything about it.

I never had a bit of trouble with them, they always made their payments promptly, were as polite and nice as could be . . . And I have sold other lots, but always to Japanese, of course.⁷

105. When they first came they built little shacks on their places, then as time went on they built better and better houses. And their women began to wear better clothes, until pretty soon they were better dressed than the American women around them.

They were industrious, honest, they saved their money, always paid their bills, were quiet and respectable . . . Their children are polite and well behaved. There is a little (American) boy living back of us here, eight years old and his parents have entirely lost control of him. You never see a Japanese child like that. They always obey their parents.⁸

The *second* development may be called the *flare-up* stage in public opinion, or the *personal talk* promoted by a few persons, but persons greatly agi-

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

tated, and who have suddenly become disturbed by the introduction of a new factor in the situation, and whose emotional reactions blaze high. Race riots are often started by gossip. Maliciousness does not necessarily characterize this stage, but personal circulation of exciting statements runs high.

106. All the trouble down here started when the P—— Church bought a cottage on T—— Street, just across from my little house over there, and was going to let the Japanese use it for a church. Mrs. A and Mrs. B took a notion that the Japanese were a menace and they began to fight it. I've never heard them say anything about the Japanese before, but they've got this notion and you can't change them. They came to me one day and said, "Mr. C, we want you to sign this petition and help us fight the Japs." "Well," I says, "I don't like the Japs any better than you do, and I'm willing to help you fight them as long as you do it fair and square. But I believe in abiding by the laws of the country and I won't do anything that is contrary to them." So I signed their petition and they gave me a card to put in my window, H—— Protective Association. Of course all the Japanese knew what that meant."

Signs against the Japanese were put up. Reports were circulated that the "Japs all had leprosy," that they were all immoral, women as well as men. A paper was published called "Swat the Jap." The *third*, or *organization*, stage was under way. It may be noted that this stage is rarely achieved, however, unless there are some real sources of irritation.

• *Ibid.*

The "organization stage" includes the holding of mass meetings. At these the anti-Japanese reports that had been circulated personally were repeated to the congregated people. During this stage the real fears began to be voiced. The real racial objections are often not to the establishment of an institution, such as a church, but because the coming into a neighborhood of an institution means that many people of the given type will be moving in more or less permanently.

107. Americanism flamed high, burned with the white heat of patriotism and burst into a hissing, roaring conflagration of wartime passion at the anti-Japanese mass meeting in the club rooms last night.

This excitement centered on the question, "How can we get the Japs out?" But *protesting* voices were heard, constituting a *fourth* phase, which often occurs synonymously with the third.¹⁰

108. Fanned by fervent emotional speeches the smouldering embers of nationalism that lay in the hearts of the citizens, crowded into the hall, leaped into fire when a lone member of the audience interrupted a speaker, about to open his remarks, and rose to defend and bespeak their right to build in the community . . .

When the audience found out what he was speaking for, there was an ominous hiss, which grew into a roar of protest, and cries of "Put him out," "Let a white man talk," "White Jap, white Jap," "Lynch him" threw the meeting into pandemonium, and forced D—— to get off the platform. He sat in the audience a short time, but soon left, with hisses sending him out of sight.¹¹

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

When the "persecution" of the Japanese was opposed, then the anti-Japanese opinion assumed a new high pressure tension, taking on a super-persecution nature and being directed with great emotional force, resentment, and indignation at "traitors" among the Americans in the community.

Fifth, there came the boomerang, quietly, but with economic force. The signs were up "Japs keep out. This is a white man's country." One day there occurred a vacancy in a house owned by an American.

109. That day three different people came down to look at my house. They saw the big signs and asked if any Japanese lived there, and I said "Yes, they did." "Well," they said, "we don't want to live where there are Japanese." I lost three renters right there in one day and I'd never had a bit of trouble before.

Well, you see, that was getting down into my pocket-book and hurting, so I went to Mrs. B and said, "Now see here, if you don't take those big signs down, and stop advertising this as a Japanese neighborhood, I'm going to take your card out of my window. I don't believe in fighting that way."

A few days later I saw her and she said, "I guess I've started something I can't stop. The rest of them won't take their signs down, so there's no use for me to take the one out of my yard." I came home and took her card out of the window and didn't have anything more to do with it.¹²

The high pressure emotional and persecution phases of public opinion probably began to spend themselves naturally. An examination of condi-

¹² *Ibid.*

tions revealed the errors in some of the reports and rumors against the Japanese.

110. The lot where my little house is on T—— street I paid \$600 for. Of course that was a good many years ago. I put a house on it that didn't cost me over a thousand, and here the other day I was offered \$9000 for the property.¹³

111. I find the Japanese homes as clean as the American homes around them. Sometime ago . . . I was talking to an old gentleman who lived there many years ago, and he said, "They talk about the Japanese not keeping their places clean, I wish you could just see the back yards of some of the Americans living around here."¹⁴

112. A woman (American) came to the pastor of my church with tales of the terrible immoral condition of the Japanese women down there, how they were soliciting men on the street, and so on. My pastor and I went down to investigate and I talked with several of the people on the street. I talked to the woman who lived next door to the Japanese and was in a much better position to see what was going on than the woman who was making the charges. She said she had never seen anything out of the way. I talked to a couple of men who lived up the street and they said they had never seen or heard anything of the sort, and if such a thing was going on, they thought they would know about it. One man said, "I have seen things going on along here that were open to criticism, but it was amongst the movie people and not the Japanese."¹⁵

The mental patterns on both sides of the controversy may become established. The representatives of anti-racial opinion are doggedly determined to oust the "foreigners" by any means. The exponents of a "fair play" opinion are stand-

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

ing by. A gesture or threatening movement on one side is certain to be met by a counter move. Opinions sink into the mores and become fixed.

IV. Public Opinion and the Mores

Public opinion is related to the mores, for the latter contains phenomena that are not to be discussed. The mores constitute a powerful force that usually supports status and social distances. The members of a group are ordinarily unaware of these mores. It is when the mores are invaded that they become objects of attention. The challenging of them creates public opinion and excitement reigns. Feelings are inflamed and horrified accusations are hurled, group patriotism and emotions lead to hatred and violence. Competition becomes conscious conflict and public opinion becomes pugilistic.

On the Pacific Coast the intermarriage of whites and Japanese is ordinarily not discussable. Any insinuation of a possibility of intermarriage is resented. The prohibition is imbedded deep in the mores and hence is sacred. An actual intermarriage brings contumely and ostracization on those concerned in it.

The political control of the Coast by the Oriental even at a millenium hence is an inflammatory suggestion. It is not to be thought aloud by anyone who wishes to maintain status. The mores forbid.

The economic control of the Coast by the Orientals is similarly repulsed by the mores. The status of the American is at stake. At its mention new bills looking toward the creating of new social distances, are sent to the state legislatures. The undermining of economic status is recognized as an undermining of political and social status, and thus, is repulsed.

When an Oriental people such as the Japanese becomes numerous, they attract by virtue of their different racial characteristics undue attention. These differences make them seem more numerous than they really are. Their superior industry and frugality make them effective economic competitors, and thus unintentional invaders of the mores. When they take over an agricultural district as lessees, the mores have been challenged. An American speaking any word in behalf of the Japanese immigrant, even asking for a square deal for the Japanese produces one major reaction: "You are pro-Japanese," or "You are a White Jap." The Sunday work of the Japanese on the farms in preparing vegetables for American demands early Monday morning makes the Japanese conspicuous and arouses suggestions regarding the invasion of the mores. The daily presence of the women and children in the fields likewise gives the American as he drives along the highway the impression that the Japanese are outnumbering Americans. American women and children working in factories and stores are somewhat hidden from public gaze and

thus seem less numerous than they are. The Sunday work, moreover, "invades" the American tradition that this is a Christian country while the American's attendance at economically extravagant auto races on Sunday increases apace.

The mores are often expressed in the form of rituals, which in the eyes of those in authority possess a sacred character. Ritual easily acquires a "divine" nature and religious sanctions. Hence, social distance so protected can long survive in a sacred, borrowed cloak as it were. The upsetting of social distances thus becomes sacrilegious.

Mores are moral sanctions. They have usually represented the inchoate reactions of the group. The group support has given them a moral backing. Hence it is immoral to invade the mores, either unintentionally or otherwise. The mores are often moralized "social distances."

The mores also have a contractual nature. Parents give their children social codes and standards (mores), along with care and affection. The mores may naturally become encased in sentiment and in respect for parents. But the immigrant boy or girl, with his strong filial respect, finds peculiar difficulties in the United States. If he breaks away, he is likely to go to an extreme: witness the Chinese "sheik" or flapper.

The mores are often the sources of a person's prejudices. Since the mores are not to be criticized one may become unconsciously and hopelessly the

victim of prejudices. Moreover, these prejudices (even those involving social distances), generated in the mores, easily become a part of one's personality traits. To have them questioned is considered an insult. The criticism of them is viewed most personally as an invasion of social distance. The degree to which one allows friends to criticize his personality is a measure of the social distances that he maintains between himself and them.

If social distances are to be easily overcome they must be removed from the control of the mores. Such freedom means that the social distances that one maintains may be changed and reorganized at any time on the basis of personal experiences, temperament, wishes for security, new adventure, and the like. One of the research workers in the Race Relations Survey, who is pretty well emancipated from racial prejudices, has developed as a result of his activity in this connection an inordinate desire to establish "chummy" relations with Orientals.

The mores with their encased social distances furnish the setting for the rise of public opinion. It is exceedingly doubtful whether public opinion ever becomes turbulent without the mores being invaded. Where people agree that there are no disturbing opinions, everything is settled and there is no occasion for a public opinion.

Thus, among the factors that have appeared in concerning the nature of opinion, (1) feelings of

fear and the wish for security have stood out, while feelings of sympathy rank next in frequency. (2) Traditional teachings, myths, "news," propaganda, and limited personal experiences in the past go to make up current opinion. "Pictures" in one's head and mental patterns become established in one's mind. (3) Pride of race, nation, and patriotic feelings easily govern. (4) A sense of fair play and a habit of looking at both sides of a question, of wanting to hear "the other side first" may operate.

The difficulty in arriving at a sound opinion is seen to be due to several factors, for example: (1) the non-typical and limited character of one's own experience; (2) the often biased and prejudicial nature of the traditional teachings that one has had; (3) one's current exposure to unscientific propaganda; (4) one's inability to hold in the mind at one time all the various factors involved and to evaluate each equitably.

CHAPTER XIII

ANALYZING CHANGES IN PUBLIC OPINION

IF PROGRESS is to become telic, the nature of changes in opinion is of paramount importance. Racial opinion affords excellent opportunities for studying how changes in opinion come about. New methods of social research are just beginning to make headway.

The 110 persons who furnished the data for the experiments in measuring social distances were asked to select from the list of races (39 in all) used in the social distance experiments, (a) the races toward which they now have a more friendly feeling than they had ten or more years ago, and (b) the races toward which they now have a less friendly feeling than formerly. They were also asked to write out at length a description, not an exposition, of the circumstances (a) whereby they now possess a more favorable feeling than they once did toward some one race, and (b) whereby they now have an increased aversion for some race.

TABLE II

*Changes in Racial Opinions, in ten years,
by 110 persons (Samples)*

<i>Races</i>	<i>Closer to</i>	<i>Farther away from</i>	<i>No mention</i>
Armenians -----	23	9	79
Bulgarians -----	1	1	108
Canadians -----	14	1	95
Chinese -----	19	10	81
English -----	3	3	104
French -----	15	7	88
Germans -----	6	34	70
Japanese -----	23	19	68
Jew-Russian -----	3	16	91
Mexicans -----	15	22	73
Negroes -----	9	9	90
Norwegians -----	9	0	101
Turks -----	1	16	93

The figures in column 3 of Table VI are unexpectedly large. The fact that 79 of the eighty persons do not mention, for example, the Armenian as a race toward which they have been drawn to or from which they have turned is surprising when it is considered that the 110 participants are all persons of relatively many contacts. Interviewing brings out the reasons.

113. I have never known members of the race and do not now have any personal acquaintances in it. My feeling is neutral.

No members of the races in question have ever crossed my path. I am neither favorable or unfavorable to them—just do not know them, that's all.¹

¹ Race Relations Survey.

In addition to *ignorance* due to *lack of contacts*, even by persons of wide experience, there are those who have *maintained*, throughout the years, *a great friendliness* for some races, and for others, *a marked aversion*: no change in opinion has occurred.

114. The Irish is my own race and of course I have always liked them and always shall.²

115. I am English and have always admired the Canadians. They are English anyway.³

116. My grandfather taught me to hate the Poles and I (Jew) can never forget their brutal murder of my father. I have always hated them with an undying hatred and I don't see how it can ever change, not until memory grows dim.⁴

117. We are century-long enemies of the Turks. Their oppressions have always been unbearable. I (Armenian) never see one even in Christian America but that I shudder from head to foot and start to run.⁵

Some persons have not changed at all in their racial opinions because they have had no new personal racial contacts; or else because they have fixed and unchanged habits grounded in either feelings of kinship and sympathy, or of aversion arising out of personal experience and traditional teaching. Table VI also seems "to reflect what races have been in the spotlight of attention," and raises the interesting question why some have thus come within the range of opinion and why others have not.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

In considering the races toward which no or few changes of opinion, either favorable or unfavorable, were noted by the entire 110 "reporters," it will be observed that two types of races are included: first, such as the Bulgarians, Roumanians, concerning whom the reporters stated that they had seen no or few representatives; and second, such as the Scotch-Irish, Scotch, English, to which races many of the reporters themselves belonged.

With the exception of the Germans and French,⁶ the races against whom there were unfavorable changes in opinion rank low among the races to which the 110 reporters belonged; only small kinship backgrounds existed. Many are markedly different in racial features from the prevailing American types. Personal contacts, direct or indirect, have occurred, and brought about changes, either favorable or unfavorable. If the contacts have aroused the individual's *sympathetic feelings*, a more favorable opinion has resulted.

118. *Personal Contacts, Sympathetic, toward the Mexican.* Up to recently I was greatly prejudiced against the Mexican. I could not tolerate him. Living in his unsanitary adobe house in ignorance and unprogressiveness I could not see a bit of worth in him. To me it seemed as if he didn't care whether he bettered his conditions, whether he progressed or not. All his thoughts seemed to drift back to Mexico giving little attention or credit to the United States.

⁶ Changes in opinion toward these races are due in part to World War influences.

After teaching for a year where I came in contact with Mexican children, in my room, on the playground, and finally their parents, I changed my mind; some of my prejudices disappeared; I began to sympathize with them. I found the Mexican mother had very little opportunity to learn about sanitary conditions or about proper care of her children, but was more than willing to be shown. She was eager to keep her children in school and greatly agitated if they refused to go.⁷

119. *Personal Contacts, sympathetic, toward the Japanese.* Most of the comments and incidents which I have heard during the ten years in which I have lived in California have been unfavorable to the Japanese. Now and then someone would make a favorable comment regarding their desire to be Americans. Perhaps the one thing which has caused me to learn to like the Japanese has been the forming of an acquaintance with a Japanese girl. I do not know her very well but in company with several girls have heard her give some of her experiences when she came to California. Her mother and she were forced to move out of a certain district in the city because of the people in the community. This Japanese girl ended by saying that the people who were so bitter against them in many cases were not Americans themselves, but were often people who had come from other countries. The whole trend of her conversation showed a forgiving and charitable attitude. I have watched other Japanese—students in the university, gardeners, men and women at the fruit and vegetable stands, and have decided that their actions are much like ours and that they would be good citizens of the United States if they were given the chance.⁸

Sometimes there are more definite evidences than at other times of *rational-sympathetic experiences*.

⁷ *Race Relations Survey.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

An anti-Japanese leader sat next to a representative Japanese at a public dinner, and a lively conversation developed. Afterwards, the anti-Japanese leader declared that he had not before realized "that such a delightful gentleman lived."

120. *Personal contacts, sympathetic-rational, toward the Spanish.* Not until about four years ago when I came to California did my early idea and feeling toward the Spanish race change. I have never been especially interested in the old California Missions, but from them I learned something about the constructive things that the Spanish have done. Then, too, in California, one comes in contact with more people of Spanish descent than he does in the east. As a whole I've found them congenial, bright, and sincere.⁹

121. *Personal contacts, sympathetic-rational, toward the Japanese.* Even in fiction the Japanese are pictured as the treacherous villain, but talking with an educated Japanese, or living near one and taking notice of the effort they are putting forth to overcome their natural traits seems to make me feel that they should be given a chance. The moral standards of the Japanese here are certainly above what they were when they first came. One quickly learns to like a Japanese child because of his quickness to learn and his attitude toward his work.¹⁰

Personal contacts may be few or missing and the change to a favorable opinion comes about through *second-hand influences*, such as the influence of teachers, of wide reading and thinking.

122. *Personal Contacts, rational, social, toward the Negro.* The early years of my childhood were spent in Louisiana. There I heard of the Negro only as a dirty black person who

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

was on earth simply to work for the white man. Like others in the town I felt anything was good enough for the Negro and I never questioned the ethics of working the Negro as hard as he would allow us to, and paying him a pittance for his labors. I never thought of the Negro as a human with a soul. As I analyze my attitude I think it was much like my attitude toward beasts of burden; I was never intentionally cruel to them, nor did I desire to see them suffer. But the idea that the Negroes were men and women, with emotions, desires, and instincts like those of the white people never occurred to me. It was not hatred, but thoughtlessness. That a Negro had a soul was preposterous. I thought of Heaven as being populated only by white folks.

This was the idea I received from my elders and it was the one I carried with me when I came to California. Here I found conditions very different. My parents lamented the fact that we would have to sit beside Negroes on street cars and theaters. My father declared he would never lower himself to the level of the "nigger" like the Californians did—he simply could not understand the attitude of the westerner to the Negro. In different places I heard the southerner criticized by the westerner for his "mistreatment" of the Negro. I was suddenly thrust into a new atmosphere and at first I did not know what to make of it, but gradually my ideas began to change to those of my associates.

One of the three things that aided my change of opinion was a United States history class in high school. I had always heard the history of the Civil War presented from the southerner's point of view, now I was to be under a westerner. The teacher tried to present both sides fairly and this spurred me on to study the question with an open mind. I studied exceedingly hard for the examination over this section of the book and tried to form a fair opinion on the Civil War question. My disappointment was keen when my instructor returned the paper saying, "This is a good paper but I see you are still a true southerner."

Later I took a course in Americanization and wrote a paper on the "Achievements of the Negro in the United States." My research for this paper introduced me to the

Negroes who were more than cooks and washerwomen and gardeners. I saw the Negro as one who possessed a brain equal to that of the white man. At this time I was a member of a club that was studying the book "J. W. Thinks Black." Here I had an opportunity to see the black man as a man with a soul, worshipping the same God that I worshipped, and my idea of Heaven changed.

The change was a gradual one which covered from four to six years. There were many indirect influences that helped me to change my opinion, but the things that had the greatest influence were the United States history class, the class in Americanization, and "J. W. Thinks Black." In other words, the factors operating in my change of opinion were the personality of leaders and reading matter that bore on the subject. These two things, it seems to me, are the greatest factors in the change of public opinion.¹¹

The changes of opinion from neutral to unfavorable, or favorable to unfavorable, usually occur on the basis of *a few personal experiences*, where the *feelings*, not of sympathy, but of *disgust* or *fear*, are aroused.

123. *Personal contacts, disgust, away from the Italian.* My feeling toward the Italian is more distant than it would have been four years ago. My attitude and estimation of them may not be just, but actual experience has caused this attitude.

For four years I taught in a district where the Italian element was plentiful. This district lay near the Union Railroad Station, so that many of the Italians we got were fresh from abroad. Often they did not know a word of English and very seldom could the parents speak, read, or write English.

Of course our problem would naturally be difficult. But after trying to teach American customs and habits of living,

¹¹ *Ibid.*

which were invariably more sanitary than theirs; after giving instructions through a school nurse, through parent teachers' association, and night schools; we found these people would not try to adopt our ways.

Our attendance problem was difficult, too. The Italian will educate his son willingly, but his daughter has no particular need of a very high grade of education. She will marry at an early age and why should she go to school any length of time?

We often found the Italian children working at the market when school was in session. We found them eating from the garbage cans of the market. Their homes were in the worst of dens. And a shack was good enough.¹²

Other instances of anti-racial changes in opinion bring in the rational element more definitely than in those already noted, although feelings of disgust, fear, or both may still predominate. The primary factors seem to be *traditions, myths, propaganda*, which are often long-lived and doggedly influential.

124. *Propaganda, disgust, rational, away from the French-Canadian.* Several years ago I should have reacted favorable toward the French-Canadian. This would have been due to his connection in my mind with romance and adventure in the early days of our country when the trapper and fur-trader were likely to be of that race. Longfellow with his "Evangeline" helped to strengthen this childhood impression.

But during the war, the papers contained frequent accounts of the refusal of the French in Canada to cooperate with the Canadian government in sending men to fight with the Allies, and their colonies were always represented as holding Canada back educationally. This picture, repeated frequently, of an unassimilated group has prejudiced my mind against the French-Canadian.

¹² *Ibid.*

Thrilling north-woods movies or the fact that the most attractive pupil I ever had was a French-Canadian do not remove that dislike from my mind.¹³

The rôle of *a few vivid personal experiences* in changing one's opinion overshadows many other factors in social research. Friendly relations are often furthered by personal contacts. Good will organizations, such as the church, often help in this connection. But the question still remains why does personal contact sometimes lead to a favorable and again to unfavorable opinion? Why is a fellow feeling sometimes aroused, and again, disgust or fear? The training of the person experiencing the change in opinion is evidently of prime importance. If one be accustomed to filth, then filth is not likely to arouse feelings of disgust. The reactions of fear and distrust mean of course that one's fundamental wish for security has been aroused.

The attitude of the immigrant is also important, for if he has developed the habit of suspiciousness, subtleness, trickery, lying, conditions of survival to which he has been accustomed, he will arouse distrust and disgust in this country. If, on the other hand, he comes from a social and political environment where frankness, open-mindedness, fair play, have been stimulated, he will display these attributes here and arouse sympathetic responses. The social backgrounds, therefore, of both native and immigrant are all-important.

¹³ *Ibid.*

By us, the aliens who are self-conscious and reserved are suspicioned. On the other hand, they are often self-conscious and reserved because they are alien and different. It is a vicious circle.¹⁴ If the immigrant is more vivacious than we are, he arouses our contempt. If he be more taciturn and unmovable he stimulates fear in us. To the degree that he is a pure immigrant, he is different, and yet the greater these differences the more unfavorable an opinion we are likely to have of him.

Another fact disclosed by the original personal data is that a change from an unfavorable to a favorable opinion takes place by a prolonged process. But in the change from favorable to unfavorable, a single experience may be sufficient, "aided by a few abetting circumstances and experiences." Moreover, the arousal of disgusts and fears makes a more uneradicable impression than the arousal of fellow feelings.

Changes in public opinion seem to operate similarly. It takes many data and a long time element to change public opinion from an unfavorable to a favorable basis, while a few instances perhaps no more than one, will shift public opinion quickly into unfavorable reactions of a relatively lasting nature.

There are underlying cycles of opinion that are of vital significance. On the Pacific Coast, as in

¹⁴R. E. Park, University of California Correspondence Course, Education 348a, assignment 2, p. 4.

Australia, and elsewhere, a demand for a cheap labor supply developed; then after members of another race have been brought in an antagonistic and a non-competing opinion has arisen. The currents of opposition have gained momentum until public opinion has been crystallized in the form of exclusions laws, whereupon the anti-race opinion has died down. A cycle in the opposite direction also develops, but of lesser force and more slowly. A friendly opinion toward the invading race based on personal relations also springs up. The study of these cycles of public opinion is a study of a section of world opinion. It is necessary to consider the developments and changes in opinion in the light of what has gone, or is going, on elsewhere in the world.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RESEARCH LABORATORY AND CLINIC

As the Race Relations Survey progressed a few of those who were actually undertaking the research work met together and problems would be presented and a general discussion would follow. Gradually these meetings developed momentum of their own. Later, a loose but permanent organization was perfected.

Meetings were held about every two weeks, or whenever there seemed to be need for a discussion of problems. The meetings tended to take on a lecture-demonstration character as well as to become a research clinic. The first type included a main speaker who reported on his findings and problems; the latter, a problem or problems, and some one seeking counsel and advice as to methods of procedure. The first was more easily maintained, because people would be interested in listening to what some one else had done. The first would have a large attendance, but the latter, an attendance of from seven to twelve persons, which is a number large enough to give variety to a discussion and yet small enough to enable all to take an active part.

The clinic is of the small diagnostic type and contrasts with the large oral presentation meetings.

The next step was the development of a Society for Social Research, composed chiefly of faculty members interested in social research and of those graduate students who had research problems and were preparing materials for a dissertation or thesis. This practical goal kept the graduate interested in the meetings which were sometimes of a lecture-presentation character, and sometimes of a diagnostic clinic nature.

While the problems at first were phases of the Race Relation Survey, they later became problems that were an outgrowth of the Survey. In this way a permanent research interest became well-rooted. Still later the Research Society branched out and undertook discussions of a variety of communal problems. It developed a self-sustaining research program. It has become a permanent institution, of great stimulus to social research.

In undertaking community projects the Society has worked out a system of research fellowships to be provided by the agency desiring the research done. Head research fellows, assistant research fellows, collaters, stenographers, a statistical scholar, a draftsman or two—these would constitute a minimum for undertaking a community project.

Another outgrowth of the Research Society has been a social research laboratory, with its drafting tables, map and chart-making equipment, clip-

ping bureau, adding machines, and so forth. It becomes the social scientist's main workshop.

The Research Clinic Bulletin is only an experiment but it has already demonstrated its worth sufficiently to deserve mention. It is a kind of research news letter, not following the plan of a secretary's minutes in a somewhat formal way, but presenting the problems that were discussed, some of the diagnoses, and some of the prescriptions offered. It is a thoughtful digest of the most meaningful things considered.

125. (Extract from the fourth Bulletin of the Society for Social Research, University of Southern California.) Professor H. reported regarding his study of a typical Mexican community in Southern California and brought up the matter of general method of procedure in gathering data. Suggestions were made ranging from the making of maps to the gathering of life histories. The difficulty of getting life histories from Mexicans who are illiterate was brought up but no satisfactory solution was indicated. The main emphasis was put upon getting the "memories" of the respective Mexicans and having these checked up by a series of personal interviews with the given individuals, and upon getting Mexicans to tell their folk stories.

Miss H mentioned some of the problems she has had in interviewing, particularly in getting life histories from Chinese and also in getting data from anti-Japanese Americans. In the first instance it was suggested that it would be necessary for Miss S. to work directly through Chinese friends who know the Chinese whose life histories are desired. It was also indicated that the interviewer might associate in some of the activities of the Chinese and acquire the necessary standing and good will. Relative to the anti-Japanese Americans it was indicated that when the inter-

viewer represents herself as coming from the Survey she may undeservedly arouse active antagonism on the part of the persons interviewed, and that she had better approach the given individuals from the standpoint of their personal interests.

Mr. B. reported on the exploring which he is doing on the problem of the studying of business organization among the Japanese. He raised the question whether competition comes within the field of social relations. The discussion indicated that a knowledge of competition was essential to the study of conflicts and accommodations and hence is basic to his project.

Mr. G. asked what could be done to arouse the interest of more Americans in the Survey. It was suggested that questions "showing up" the ignorance of Americans regarding Orientals would help. It was also indicated that the interest of many Americans will be developed as soon as findings are printed, which after all may be soon enough.

Dr. S. reported upon his study regarding the second generation Orientals and indicated many kinds of materials upon which he would like to secure data and received several pertinent "leads." The importance of gathering data along the lines indicated by the following questions was emphasized.

In what studies are these Japanese-American children most interested?

For what reason?

Have they any special aversions to special studies?

In what ways do they "mix" with American children? What difficulties?

How do they solve their recreation needs?

Are there any special difficulties in the Buddhist homes where the children become Americanized?

What restraints, if any, do the parents of these children seek to place upon them and with what results?

Do many of these children or young people run away from their homes? Where to?

Do any Oriental-American children become delinquents?

What is the nature of the delinquency?

What are the problems that these young people are most conscious of?

What are they doing to work out solutions?¹

The stimulative effect on leaders in the community is noticeable. People of prominence and leaders in a wide range of activities, are writing to the Society for Social Research, asking for plans and questionnaires, research workers, suggestions for determining whether a certain survey is needed or not. Some of these persons are beginning to reflect the methods of social research in their own thinking, and thus the leaven is at work. If the Society had a motto which the community would appreciate it might be: "To foresee and forestall." At any rate the isolation existing between colleges and universities and the community is being slowly overcome.

The Society indicates in a small way what might be done if colleges and universities could unite in cooperative studies of social cultures, diffusion, conflicts, accommodations. In time they could furnish the whole country with authoritative materials, change and mold public opinion, and create a scientific and non-magical control over social questions and social progress.

¹ Race Relations Survey.

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